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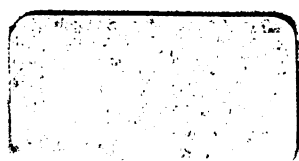
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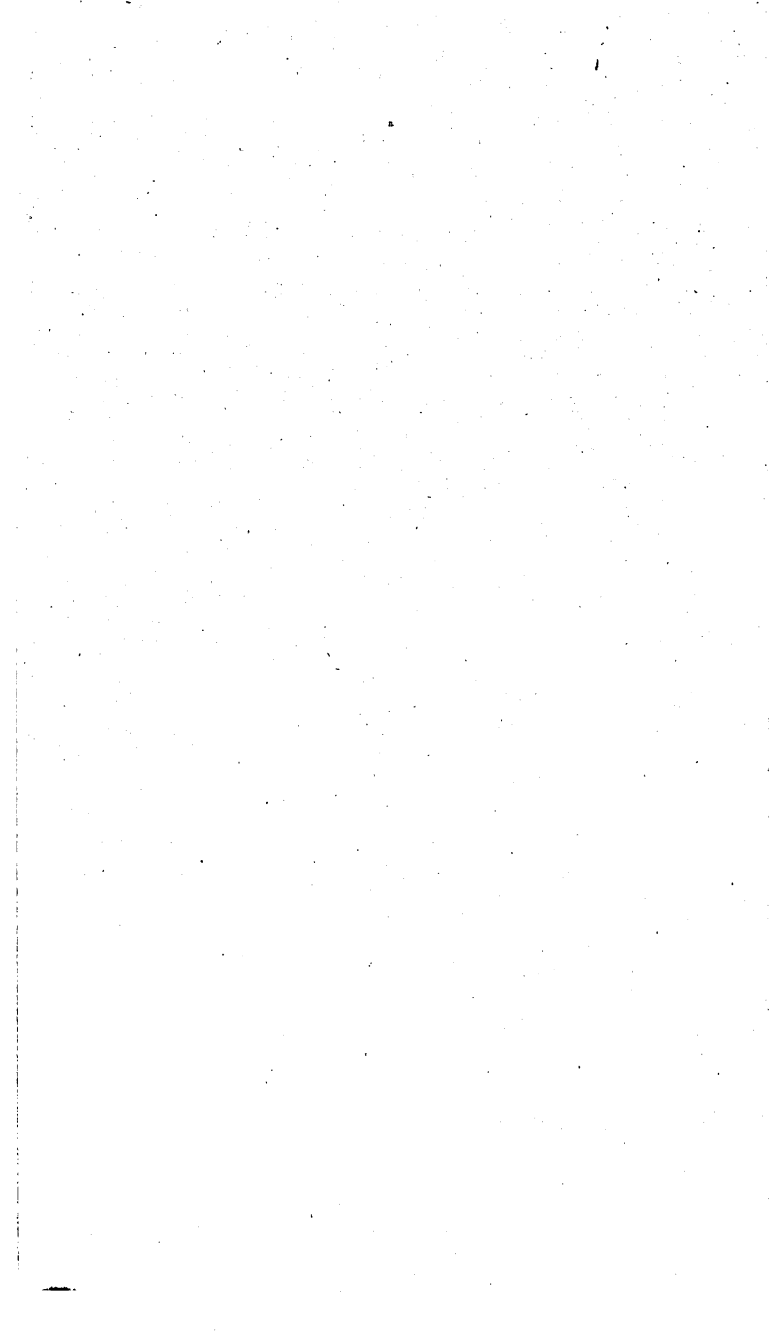
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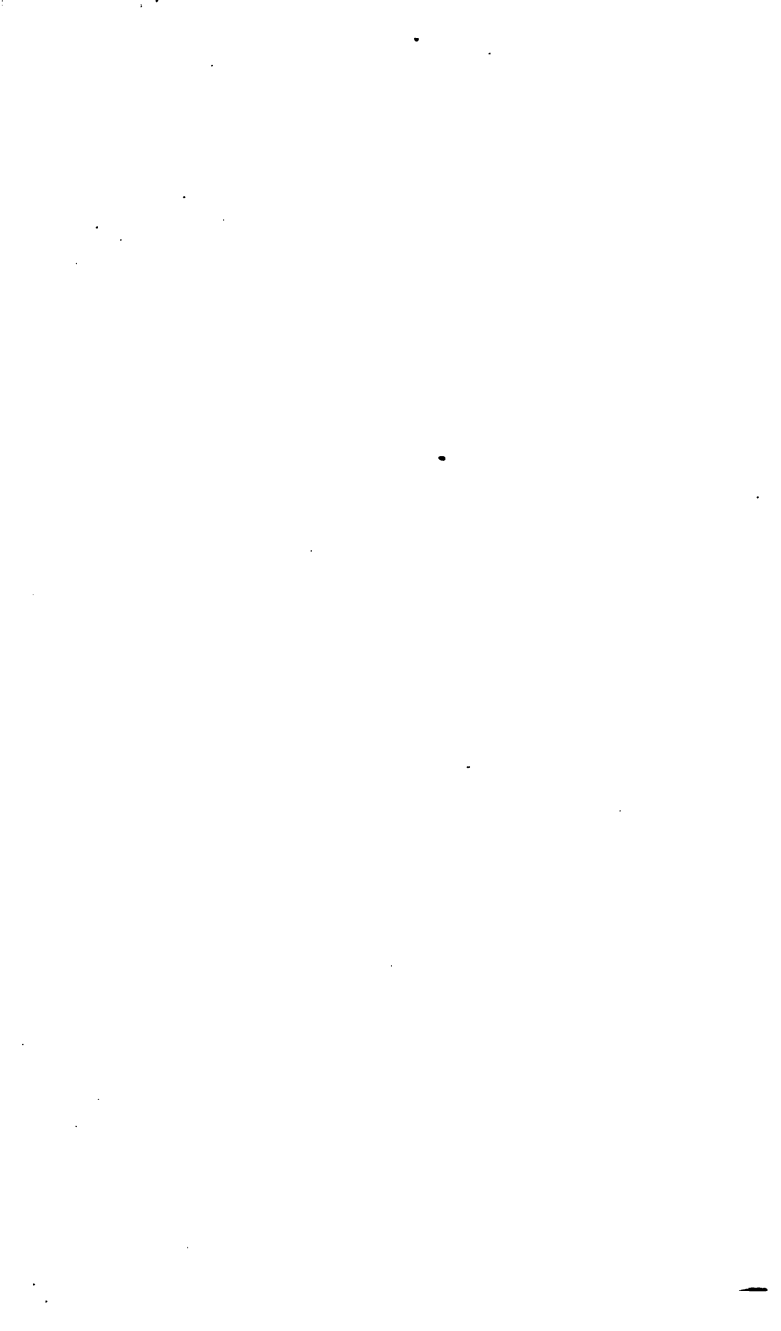
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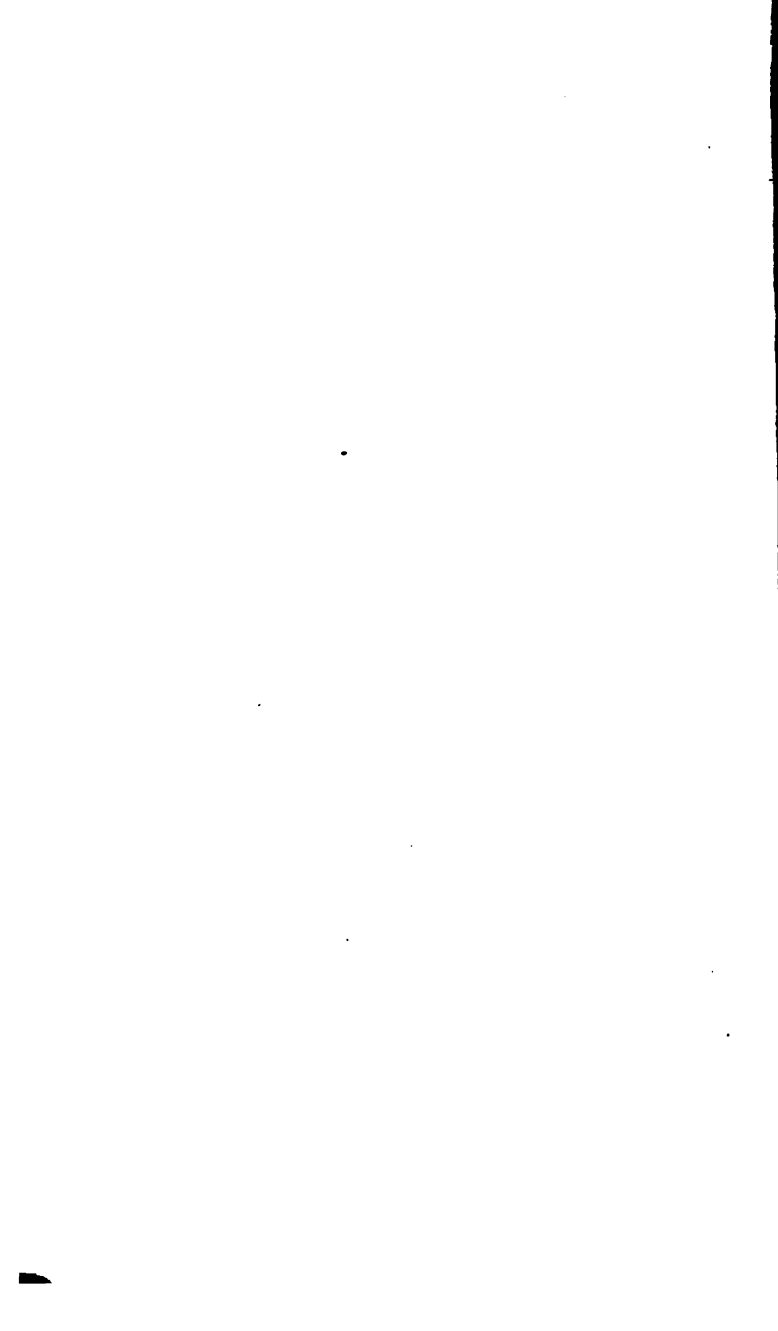
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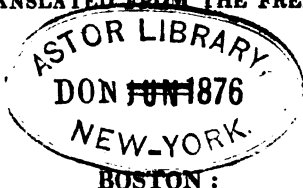
VIEWS
OF
ENGLAND,

**DURING A RESIDENCE OF TEN YEARS ; SIX
OF THEM AS A PRISONER OF WAR.**

René Martin
BY MAJOR-GENERAL PILLET,

KNIGHT OF ST. LOUIS, AND MEMBER OF THE LEGION OF HONOR.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.



**PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY PARMENTER AND NORTON,
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1818.

P

DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO WIT :

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the eleventh day of November in the forty-first year of the Independence of the United States of America, A. D. 1816, *Josiah Parks* of the said district, hath deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, *to wit* :

“*Views of England, during a Residence of ten Years; six of them as a Prisoner of War. By Major-General Pillet, Knight of St. Louis, and Member of the Legion of Honor. Translated from the French.*”

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, intituled, “An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies during the Times therein mentioned.”—And also to the Act, entitled, “An Act supplementary to an Act, entitled, ‘An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies during the Times therein mentioned,’ and extending the Benefits thereof to the Arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other Prints.”

D. CALDWELL,

Clerk of the District of Pennsylvania.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

TRAVELS in France, and remarks on that country by Englishmen, have abounded in England, and been circulated wherever they could prejudice the public mind against their once powerful and now unfortunate rival ; but travels in England, and remarks on that country by uninfluenced and intelligent Frenchmen, are literary curiosities, and but rarely seen. The present is the work of an unfortunate French officer, whose sufferings naturally led him to view the darkest side of the British character, but whose views are deserving the attention of Americans, who cannot have too many aids in forming a just estimate of the character and policy of a nation with whom they have so many important connexions. The original was printed in Paris soon after the abdication of Napoleon and the general restoration of prisoners consequent upon the restoration of the Bourbons ; but the author, who had for many years been confined in England, did not long survive his liberation. The credit of the work rests upon the truth of the facts it records, more than upon any information concerning the character of the author which the Translator possesses.

The Translator makes no pretensions to any thing more than a faithful literal translation, and he has preferred giving the whole of his author, to the suppression of any part which did not fully coincide with his own opinions. Liberal and enlarged minds will appreciate his motives, and those in this country who have already officiously denounced the work, may now have an opportunity to read it. Had one reason, which deserved the name, been offered against its publication, the Translator would have shrunk from his purpose ; but as he will never willingly prejudice the cause of truth, so he will never tamely submit to denunciation without argument:

DEDICATION.

TO MY COMPANIONS IN SUFFERING, THE
PRISONERS OF WAR IN ENGLAND.

TO dedicate a work to you, to whom I am indebted for its plan and first conception, a work in which many of you have co-operated, by the judicious remarks upon the English nation which you have furnished me, is a duty which I perform with gratitude.

Officers of all grades, soldiers, sailors, and Frenchmen of all ranks, who, like myself, have lived in various parts of England; whose treatment at Norman Cross, and in the prisons of Chatham, I have shared; you, in whose favour I have so often raised my voice against our barbarous enemies, say if I have exaggerated.

Condemned to a solitary prison, dreadful as the prison ships, I should there have expired, had it not been for your attachment, and the subordination to which you voluntarily submitted. The discipline you permitted me to introduce amongst you, without destroying our equality, revived my exhausted strength, and supported the dignity of our character.

If we have braved injustice, struggled against oppression, and confounded our tyrants, and if my firmness has sometimes enabled us to triumph over their barbarity and the exactions of their murderous avarice, it is to your confidence I owe the success.

Wandering shades of one hundred and fifty thousand of our brèthren, who, in the short space of the two last wars, have expired in the midst of tortures on board the prison ships of England ! Sacred manes of more than thirty thousand Frenchmen, who have only set foot on your native soil to see the tomb, which now covers your inanimate ashes, open before you ! Arise ! and if my pen is unfaithful, disavow the recital of our sufferings whenever I shall have occasion to speak of them.

Truth shall guide my hand, and the authors of all our woes will not be able to contradict its language.

Your devoted comrade,

PILLET.

INTRODUCTION.

BEING severely wounded in the battle of Vimiera, in Portugal, I was carried to England with a great number of my brethren in arms, notwithstanding the law of nations, and the formal articles of capitulation, (*Cintra*) which stipulated for our liberty and return to France.

I have experienced in England honorable attentions, and dreadful treatment; I have forgotten the latter, I shall never lose the recollection of the former. It is my design to make Frenchmen acquainted with the laws, manners, usages and political conduct of a nation which I have observed in its capital and in its counties, in America and in Europe, in its cities and villages, in the parlour of the rich, and in the workshop of the mechanic; in fine, even in the dungeons of the greatest criminals, with whom, without regard to the law of nations, I have several times been unjustly immured. I relate what I have seen, and what thousands of my countrymen have also witnessed. I write without partiality as a Frenchman, without recrimination as a prisoner of war. Both a witness and victim of the vexations and innumerable cruelties of the English government towards my companions in misfortune, it is my sole motive to make the French people acquainted with the true state of feelings and affairs in England. No one with more pleasure does justice to her liberal institutions than myself. I shall speak with the same freedom of the corruption which marks almost every class of society in a kingdom upon which so much has been written in Europe, within half a century; and in a government, and amongst a people, whose laws and acts have been for the same space of time the object of a blind admiration, an admiration which I venture to say has been the first cause of our misfortunes, and of the calamities of the two worlds.

I shall have accomplished my design, if my fellow citizens, after reading, are convinced, as I am myself, that England has little to excite our envy, that we ought to be proud of being Frenchmen; that our character is noble, generous, and infinitely superior to the

English character, as it respects humanity, civilization, and legislation ; that our manners are in every respect preferable to those of the English ; that our civil code, even before its revision, was less defective than the civil code of England ; that we have a false and exaggerated idea of the political integrity of the Three Kingdoms ; and that it is at length time, by doing ourselves the justice which England has constantly denied us, and by resuming all the dignity of the French name, that our public and national spirit should spring from our own experience, and strengthen itself by all we possess ennobling, liberal, and great in our character and institutions.

To what unhappy fatality is to be attributed the unanimous concert of so many enlightened Frenchmen, of so many philosophers, in other respects worthy of esteem, whose writings we justly admire, whose opinions we still respect, who have carried their predilection for England even to calumny against their own country, many of whom have somehow or other sought to promote the glory of England, by dishonouring France—It is this I shall attempt to expose and develope, with plainness and impartiality, by submitting to the mind of every honest man, to the heart of every Frenchman, the authentic documents of a cause, which is in fact the cause of the whole human race.

While I shall not deviate from the style of decency and moderation, which belong essentially to truth, there are subjects on which I shall not allow myself to speak but with the reserve and respect becoming an honest man. Compelled to speak of many things, I shall not forget that I write for all classes. There are pictures which ought not to be exposed in public. If sometimes I pass rapidly over serious matters, and dwell at others upon subjects which at the first view seem to be unimportant, the delicacy and curiosity of the reader will excuse whatever chapters of this work he may consider too long or too short. Minute details, apparently useless, are sometimes indispensable in painting the spirit and manners of a nation when they are drawn from the habitual conduct of the people. I have adopted the division into chapters, because it is simple and natural to such a subject. It varies the relation, and pleases even the superficial and indolent reader. It may be lain aside or resumed when and where the reader pleases. In fine, I am a Frenchman, and I write for my countrymen.

VIEWS OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

Origin of the Anglomania in France—True Cause of the Evils which have attended our Revolution.

THE regency of Philip of Orleans, about the commencement of the last century, was the epoch when the Anglomania began to pervade France. It was introduced and strengthened in the course of that century by our writers, and poets; it became a passion, a frenzy! It gave birth to that sect, to which we owe all the misfortunes which have poisoned our revolution, because they were never willing to admit the distinction, which ought to be observed between the English character, of which we should beware, and the institutions of that people, which we may imitate.

The revocation of the edict of Nantz, the scaffolds, chains, and proscriptions of all sorts, to which the protestants were devoted, during the last years of the reign of Louis XIV. rendered the despotism of that monarch odious, (though in other respects he has been justly styled the Great,) reunited in a body of opposition; every man who aspired to the liberty of thinking, and turned towards England and her political constitution, the eyes

of all who had reason to fear the renewal of similar persecutions. At this epoch we may with safety fix the origin of the English party amongst us ; and if the author of *Telemachus*, on account of the nature of his philosophy, may be considered the founder, the Regent and his *base minister*, Cardinal Dubois, the pensioner of *Walpole*, were its promoters by licentiousness and the corruption of manners.

Louis XIV. by religious fanaticism, had unintentionally laid the foundation of English influence. The Regent impelled by his libertinism, which too often warped his judgment, imprudently finished the work, and openly introduced into France, principles of innovation, which were soon spread with eagerness by the philosophers. If many were animated by the sentiment of an exalted liberty, many also were unhappily influenced by views of interest, or personal ambition. The former would not at first, have directly opposed a government which they considered firmly established ; and the boldest philosophers would have shrunk with affright, from the thought of a total overthrow of that government ; but they fixed with complacency the attention of the French nation upon the English ; they extolled the *people* beyond measure when they should have confined their observations to the excellency of their *institutions*. Undermining by indirect attacks and unfair comparisons, those of our institutions, which, good in principle, had become corrupted or perverted by the times, and the usurpations and pretensions incessantly urged by the privileged classes, they were continually telling us of *men*, when they should have spoken only of *things*. They carefully concealed from us the habits and manners of a people they wished us to admire. Soon it was considered wrong, or at least ridiculous, not to eulogize them. And at last, when it was no longer possible to conceal the want of refinement, cru-

elty, and vices of the English; when it became impossible to palliate crimes which were blazoned over every quarter of the globe, the same philosophers insolently dared to represent their cruelty and their crimes as the sudden transports of vigorous and liberal minds, which we must nevertheless continue to admire.

There is no nation on earth, which like the English nation, knows how to profit by the errors of her neighbours, the sincerity of her allies, the mistakes of her enemies, and the false policy of other cabinets; and we owe this justice to the people of England, that each individual, while he employs his credit or his talents for his own benefit, never neglects to turn both to the benefit of the community, whenever it is in his power. It was not necessary for the English writers, and the leaders in that kingdom, long to study the eulogies, so often irksome, which were pronounced upon them, as well as their government, to perceive the tendency towards a change in the political order, which public opinion in France would produce. Their machiavelian foresight had already measured the depth of the gulph into which they would plunge us. From that time it became the only object of the cabinet of London to smooth the road which was to conduct us to a series of evils, which without their perfidious aid we could have avoided.

All our writers, indiscriminately, were caressed, encouraged and invited to visit the English in their island: at each treaty of peace they spread themselves over our soil, to implant their principles, to traduce our taste, to censure our customs, and substitute their own; and by making us their fellow labourers in this detestable work, to establish the prosperity of their manufactures upon the ruin of ours.

The exertions which the English government continually made to inflate the vanity and corrupt the national

feelings of those of our literati whom it could for a short time allure into Great Britain, produced the expected effect. Our literati burdened with civilities; and loaded with favours, always caressed by the first lords of the state, who carefully prevented the people from approaching them, lest they should become too well acquainted, heard it repeated on all sides in England, that she was the only protector of liberty and equality; that there only, science obtained the respect and honours which were its due; that there only, learned orators, and defenders of the public opinion, were the first who were called to all the highest stations; which elevation established between them and the nobility a sort of fraternity that levelled the distinctions of rank.

Incapable of maturing great events, our men of letters, our travelling philosophers were all taken in the snare of English adulation.* Montesquieu himself did

* Helvetius having been a long time invited by several lords to visit them in England, at last determined to undertake the journey. He had nearly reached the estate of one of these noble personages, and his seat itself was only at a little distance, when the postillion overturned him into a pit, whose dirt but newly turned up, showed a concerted plan, as the event justified. Immediately the whole village, which was only at a short distance, was collected. When some voices had announced that it was Helvetius, whom they already knew to be the most learned Frenchman that had visited Great Britain, a philosopher whose writings did no less honour to his country than Locke had done to theirs, the horses were immediately unharnessed, the carriage raised again, Helvetius reseated within it, and drawn by the people to the very door of the mansion. The editors of the works of Helvetius, in accordance with his own journal never fail to relate as a proof of the honours paid to science, the account of this reception, which among a people less capable of keeping a serious countenance, would only have been regarded as a ridiculous joke, and which in England was considered as an act of humanity *placed at interest*. The postillion, the horses, the carriage, all belonged to the lord. The villagers were his tenants, and each played the part which had been before assigned him. The philosopher who was thus duped, did not fail from that moment to extol the hospitable spirit, and generosity of the English people, which was precisely what they wanted of him.

not entirely escape this seduction ; and it is only necessary to peruse attentively his Spirit of Laws, and his Familiar Letters, to be convinced of the injury done by England to his genius, in regard to France. To the leading sentiment of love for the public good, was united, in many of our writers, a sentiment of personal vanity. Soon they aspired to nothing but a revolution which should place France on the same constitutional basis which distinguished England from the different governments of Europe ; to a revolution which should call *them* exclusively to the government of the state, or which should one day cause their ashes to be deposited in the tombs of their kings, as those of *Newton* and *Shakspeare* are in *Westminster Abbey*.

CHAP. II.

London—English Costumes.

If all the interests of England concentrate in the city of London, which has already become the centre of all sorts of business, it may be said that London is also in every part of England. The facility and multiplicity of communications have been carried to such an extent, that all goods, all articles of consumption, have but one price, that of the Capital, with the exception of a few articles, as provisions accidentally procured, local, or which cannot be transported, as certain fish during the fishing

Nothing is more common than to see a carriage overturned upon the roads in England ; but though it should contain all the philosophers and literati of the world, they would be obliged to do as other travellers do on similar occasions, get up if they can, or if their bones are fractured, wait for assistance, for which they must send, and pay dear enough ; for as to the spectators, and passengers, should any chance to pass, they stupidly look at you a moment, and then continue their route.

season on the coast. Articles are seldom seen at a cheaper rate in one county than in another, however remote it may be from the centre. The surplus circulates from one hand to another with a promptitude proportioned to the wants of the population, so that whether there be abundance or scarcity both are always general. For many years I have only seen one instance where the prices of any merchandise have been essentially different from those of London, and this was when commerce was almost suspended by the occlusion of all the ports of Europe in 1811. The Manufacturers no longer being able to pay their workmen, gave them for their wages the products of their manufactories, and these unfortunate beings, to procure themselves bread, sold them on the spot for one third of their real value.

The inhabitant of the most interior shire town, whether it be large or not, indeed the villager himself, in his dress and habits, differs in no respect from the citizen of London. Every where is found a similarity of manners, an uniformity of appearance, and the different idioms, the shades of pronunciation which distinguished the western countries from the northern, already begin to wear away, and are about to disappear. The wives of the shoemaker, of the butcher, and mechanic of a country parish, are *Ladies*, like those of London. They are seen on Sunday, dressed out in embroidered muslins which an experienced eye could hardly distinguish from the stuffs worn by the wives of the *Squires*, were it not for some slight difference, by no means in favour of the latter. This difference consists in a greater degree of negligence, their fortune enabling them more frequently to change their dress. Their awkwardness of deportment and their manner of introduction being the same, it would be difficult to attempt to distinguish the classes and ranks of society, by their dignified or easy manners. The En-

English females generally; of whatever condition, are destitute of grace, of taste, of style; in one word, it may be said that an English woman has two left hands.

A woman who sews or works by the day, like the daughter of a baronet or a lord, is dressed in white, her head covered with a hat of straw or velvet, put on without grace, ornamented, or rather tied down with a narrow ribbon, and disposed with a great deal of economy. All appear to be of the same family when they are seen walking on Sunday.

The appearance of the men is also similar; it is generally plain, and since all have their hair cut close, and a head dress more spruce and elegant, no longer distinguishes men of a certain taste or rank, it is necessary to be well acquainted with the inhabitants, not to commit mistakes in distinguishing, at the first view, a lord or rich man from a mechanic. This sort of social equality is not perhaps an evil, whatever the proud supporters of ancient etiquette may say of it. For my own part, I should not be sorry to see the same thing in France. The distinction of ranks, effaced in public by a plain garb, which neither humiliates nor offends any one, and which gives to all an appearance of comfort, neatness, and decency, leads the common people to have more respect for themselves, and attaches them to their families, whom they can introduce without a blush.

Though, as has been observed, all the people in England appear to be of the same family when walking, or at church, it is not exactly so in their drawing rooms. The pride of the rich and noble has there taken deeper root perhaps, than amongst us. In the English drawing rooms there reigns a genuine luxury, a luxury well understood. At London, the arrangement of the drawing room marks the education of the well born. Coats always new, silk stockings and breeches without boots,

very fine linen and some gold jewels, distinguish the gentleman. French laces, cambric and silk with a few diamonds, announce the affluent woman. The luxury of the rich families in England, excites no envy in the lower class; they never notice it; and this luxury, as I have remarked in other places, does not ruin people in easy circumstances, who to gratify their own self love, and that of their wives, that they may appear like ladies, are delighted to see them decked out with ridiculous finery, which they ought to blush to wear.

If the elegance of the English does not exceed ours in the cutting of garments, or the disposition of their dress; if we enjoy with a sort of pride, our superior taste in this respect, which is the first and strongest passion of woman, truth must compel all our countrymen, who have long resided in England, to allow that the English people are to the eye of a traveller, more neatly and more richly clad than ours, although they may be much poorer in the number of garments, and in linen. The most elegant English *filles-de-chambre*, can carry their whole wardrobe under one arm in a small band-box, while the meanest of ours, never changes her place of abode without being followed by several trunks; where, although every thing may not be so magnificent as might be wished, you will never fail to find gold crucifixes and earrings, linen in abundance, though of a coarse quality, petticoats, summer and winter dresses, &c. &c. while the inventory of a pretty English miss is almost always composed of one chemise upon her back, and a second in her band-box, two dimity petticoats, two pair of cotton hose, two short gowns, one white and the other of calico, three handkerchiefs, serving alternately for the pocket and neck; some muslin articles of millinery, a few locks of hair, a little hat, which is refitted when soiled or injured by use, and one pair of shoes on her feet, which the use of

pattens prevents from becoming wet or dirty. With this trifling inventory, I do not hesitate to declare that I prefer the appearance of a young English girl to the coarse superabundance of our waiting girls, (*filles-du-commun.*) In England there is not even a girl of the most remote poultry yard in the country, who does not come on market days to bring her butter and eggs, as elegantly dressed as her master's daughter, her head adorned with a little hat, her hands neatly covered with gloves, her legs with cotton stockings, and her whole dress perfectly white.

CHAP. III.

Public Spirit—National Pride.

AT the most trifling occurrence in France, people are constantly heard complaining of our situation and affairs, yet consenting to no other sacrifices than such as they are compelled to make; decrying their own country and laws, and looking back with regret upon more disgraceful and humiliating times; and all this, because, loaded with wealth, and effeminately reclining on down, they do not yet perceive the sharp points of the rock it covers and conceals. How often then do they cast a wishful look towards proud and happy England.

I have seen all her manufactories without employment, her people exhausted with famine, and oppressed with taxes, her paper money every day brought into discredit by the necessary purchases of gold to supply immediate wants and pay her armies; I have seen her coasts threatened, and the invasion could have been made with a certainty of success, if France had not suffered herself to be diverted, and directed in some manner by the

flames which England kindled in the midst of the continent, to scatter the fire which threatened her own doors; I have seen her armies melt away in Spain, and the English Government, to prevent their total annihilation, obliged to destroy the population of the Three Kingdoms in a proportion far more alarming than any calls which have been made upon ours; In fine, I have seen her excite commotions in her own bosom, to increase by terror the number of her recruits; and I have seen the English people in the midst of all its calamities, I have seen this people who never make war but with the ambitious design of seizing upon the commerce of the world, whose political security can in no wise be endangered by peace, exclaiming on all sides, "France must be destroyed, her inhabitants to the last soul must perish; and to effect this object, every man who is able, must bear arms, and even the last guinea be expended!"

Indeed, I have seen this people, after ten months endurance of a system which could not be supported, not on account of its gigantic extent, but through our want of courage and patriotism, I have seen them in their extravagant despair, planning the dreadful project of destroying the smallest trace of industry in India, to carry their own products thither, and thus relieve their manufactures, amusing themselves with the hope of compelling the wretched Indians to receive every thing of English manufacture, and even to go and settle in their country; and the public spirit has never altered!

I shall speak hereafter of the fate which this public spirit of the English reserves for the Antilles, the projects which they form over Europe, and the situation in which the world is placed by the state of affairs in which England is involved.

Englishmen! Can your public spirit and patriotism only be allied to cruel and ferocious manners, as I have

often heard you boast? Can you not love your own, without hating every other country?—This view of your character is shocking, and I rejoice in the belief that public spirit, as I understand it, and as I wish it to be understood by those of my countrymen who do not already possess it, will never consist in the hatred of every thing but self.

In England, on every occasion, public spirit is displayed with a promptitude and energy, which should cause every people and government in Europe to blush and tremble.

Should a writer in any work attack the members of the administration, in endeavouring only to expose its abuses; should he raise a cry against the government itself, which could be construed into sedition, the ministers prosecute the writer, concealing their personal vengeance under the mask of public justice, and cause him to be condemned. The imprisonment must be long, the damages immense. The man seems on the verge of ruin, but every one is silent, and says to himself, "I also should have condemned this writer, though perhaps with less severity; still I should have condemned him. But this man has sacrificed himself for his country, his country owes him some acknowledgment. To reach the mark, you must aim beyond it." Generous subscriptions soon come to his assistance, console his family, establish his fortune, and indemnify him for all the judgments he is obliged to satisfy.

To decry the government when the country is in danger, is a capital offence in the eyes of every Englishman. To support the government with all their might, even though they despise it, is the great *virtue*, or rather the only *virtue* of an Englishman. This patriotism, is indeed the most noble of all sentiments, it is honourable both to individuals and nations. When war is to be supported, the honour of the English name defended, or her com-

mercial interests protected, all their fortunes are in the same purse, all their minds are at London, in the same head. How far are we removed from this conservative spirit! This is what the English so admirably possess, and which is sufficient to secure their national glory.—Public spirit, so precious and enabling, whether it spring from their political institutions, from that constitution which embraces sublime provisions and dreadful vices, or whether it is to be ascribed to ministerial manœuvres, is no less on that account the *touch-stone* of a nation, and the most valuable of its possessions.

I have promised to declare the evil, and not withhold the good; I will keep my word. I have witnessed one of these displays of public spirit on an occasion, when, in any other country, not one would hardly have dared to entertain an opinion.

A merchant had been employed by the ministry to purchase some timber proper for shipbuilding in the port of Archangel. At that time England was in great distress, and was neither able to repair or build; circumstances changed; the sales were dull, and the ministers suffered all the responsibility to fall upon their agent. He was ruined. This unfortunate man had presented several memorials, and had repeatedly demanded audience, but they had given him no answer. Driven to despair, he presented himself at the door of the house of commons, waited for the prime minister, Mr. Percival, and shot him. He was seized, confessed the crime, was tried, condemned to be hung, and executed a few days after. At the time of execution an immense crowd filled the public square, and these expressions were heard on every side: *Farewell poor man, you owe satisfaction to the offended laws of your country, but God bless you! you have rendered an important service to your country, you have taught ministers that they should do justice, and grant audience when it is asked of them.*

A subscription was opened for the widow and children, and a handsome sum was raised. Their fortune was ten times greater than they could ever have expected in any other situation.

These are the noble and wise effects of public spirit. In these latter times we have seen in France, five persons condemned to imprisonment and fined, for merely having re-copied some ancient public papers. Every one read the pieces with avidity, and all seemed to feel interested in their sentence, but not a man had enough public spirit to come to their assistance or consolation.

As to the self love of this proud nation, you may discover it in every page of their writers, even those whom we should suppose ought to be the most modest, and the farthest removed from mis-statement. They invariably have recourse to falsehood, whenever the truth would wound their national pride.

Howard has written upon the subject of prisons. His book is in the hands of every philosopher, and should be in those of every statesman ; his memory is justly venerated ; he has rendered great services to humanity, by developing the sufferings and barbarity to which the prisoners of all countries are exposed ; by pointing out the methods to terminate them, and apply the remedies necessary to so important a part of the social state.—Howard has expressed the indignation he felt at the horrible treatment inflicted in his country upon prisoners of war. He was decreed the first statue erected in St. Paul's at London ; yet this same Howard, speaking of the Bastille, observes that one of his countrymen, Lord Mazarens, was detained at the time of his journey to Paris, for eighteen years in that prison, where he died the victim of despotism, by virtue of *lettres de cachet*.

This assertion of Howard is false. Lord Mazarens, was detained in the Conciergerie of the palace at Paris,

where all have seen him. He was not confined by *lettres de cachet*, but by virtue of a judgment, authorizing the seizure of the body for debts, notes of hand, and bills of exchange. He was a sort of sharper, had made a great figure, had contracted immense debts, and was unwilling to pay them. He pretended that his creditors had abused his confidence, and had induced him to sign obligations greater than the sums he owed, assertions which he never could prove. The French government was an entire stranger to his detention. He was set at liberty at the time of the revolution, and none of his creditors ever touched a farthing.

Howard visited the *Conciergerie*, of which he speaks with considerable particularity, and had there seen his countryman. He, as well as all Paris, knew the cause of his imprisonment. Why then this falsehood? Because his pride was wounded at seeing an Englishman detained for debt in France; because he thought to render himself popular and illustrious in England, by representing this Englishman, this lord, as a prisoner in the Bastille, and a victim of despotism.

These facts, these examples, which it would be easy to multiply, paint the spirit of a nation better than all reasonings or discussion could possibly do. In general, I prefer to mention characteristic facts, and leave the reader to make his own reflections.

CHAP. IV.

Public Spirit—Continuation of the same Subject.

COBBETT, the author of a periodical and anti-ministerial work, intitled the *Political Register*, and which appears

weekly,—indignant at the delivery to a German regiment stationed at Dublin, of a soldier of an English regiment of the same garrison, for the execution of a sentence which condemned him to be whipped, had written, in 1810, in one of his numbers, that for a long time he had predicted that the unconstitutional admission of foreign troops into England, was the most powerful auxiliary the ministry could make use of to destroy the liberties of the people; that in fine, the humiliating scene which had just happened at Dublin was a proof of it; that he never would have believed that English soldiers would have had the baseness to permit one of their comrades to be whipped by foreigners; but that since they had done it, they deserved that the same punishment should be often repeated. *Flog, Flog, and Flog* them again by the same hands, cried he, addressing the ministers, your base soldiers deserve it; since they have suffered such an insult, they are unworthy the name of *Britons*. He was accused, prosecuted, and condemned to two years imprisonment, to pay ninety-six thousand francs damages for having excited the army to mutiny, and to deposit the same sum the moment he was set at liberty, as security for his good behaviour.

A new edition, by subscription, of all the sheets of the Political Register which had then appeared, soon more than covered all the expenses of the defendant. Persons of the highest reputation in England were seen at the head of the subscribers, for sums which exceeded ten times the value of a single copy. "*Mr. Cobbett* is an excellent citizen, was repeated on all sides; our soldiers will no longer be exposed to the ignominy of seeing themselves flogged by the hands of foreigners. To excite them to revolt is criminal: if, however, *Mr. Cobbett* had done less, he would not have produced the effect.

He ought to be punished ; it is our duty amply to indemnify him for it."

Mr. Lovel, editor of the *Statesman*, a paper whose sentiments are generally favourable to the French Government, published, March 17, 1812, a letter, signed *Honestus*, in which, with an exactness which showed how perfectly he was acquainted with the subject, the writer described every species of theft committed by the *Transport Office* and its agents, upon French prisoners of war, and made an estimate of them. According to him, these thefts amounted to several millions of livres ; and the budget for the expense of the prisoners, stated it at about twenty-four millions. Mr. Lovel was prosecuted. *Honestus* remained anonymous ; the editor was consequently condemned to two years imprisonment, and immense damages. His defence was reduced to this, that the letter had slipped into his paper without his knowledge, and that he was entirely ignorant of its author. I was informed, without however vouching for the truth of it, that this author was a person named Adams, a clerk, then somewhat out of favour at the *Transport Office* ; a rogue, who was so much the better instructed in the details he furnished, as it was he, who, as interpreter, had possessed all the correspondence of the prisoners, and that the cause of his anger proceeded from his being displaced to make room for a person named *Sugden*, a wretch still more of a villain than his predecessor, and whose introduction to the *Transport Office* operated like a fresh bloodsucker upon us. They compromised a little with Adams, to whom they continued a semblance of confidence, which induced him to remain anonymous.

I wrote to Mr. Brougham, the advocate in Lovel's defence, and sent him a regular statement, which proved that they did not give the prisoners one quarter of the

clothes supposed to be distributed to them, and which the English Government paid for; that in appraising these clothes at a pound sterling, this single article amounted to about forty-five thousand pounds sterling, a sum which was pilfered every eighteen months. My letter, as I expected, produced no effect; they did not wish to be enlightened upon such a subject, and on the contrary it was necessary that a judicial act should turn the eyes of France from the Transport Office. Here then is the cause of the condemnation of Lovel, whose damages, I have been assured, were partly remitted by the Transport Office itself, in consequence of a secret agreement.

If such an affair had happened in France, if agents for prisoners of war had been exposed to similar denunciations, and had been guilty of frauds so easily proved, all England would have come to the assistance of the informers. Charges pouring in at once from all sides, would have overwhelmed the speculators, and this would have been the result of that public spirit which every where accompanies the English. I could cite an example of it, but I forbear, since the unhappy victim who has fallen by suicide, has seemed to pass sentence upon himself, although in reality, less culpable than the desperate act to which he was driven would lead us to believe.*

I wrote to Mr. Lovel, and sent him the letter for his advocate, accompanied with the statement. Of this letter I give a copy. War is already renewed; already several thousands of unhappy Frenchmen are buried in the hulks; what would have been read a few months ago

* Gen. Virion, whose inattention I shall not attempt to excuse, was the dupe of an infamous snare which was laid for him. He could justify himself in part, but being accused, he blew out his brains. In England, the very reverse would have happened; the General would not only have been justified, but loaded with applause, and his accusers, if Frenchmen could have been capable of such Machiavelian combinations, would have been covered with disgrace.

with indifference, must at least awaken curiosity at this time. Why do not my countrymen deserve that I should dare to use a stronger expression.

*" On board the Prison Ship Brunswick,
Chatham Roads, May 19, 1813.*

" Sir,

" When I was informed of the affair in which you were involved, for inserting in your paper the letter of Honestas, and the result of that unhappy business, I could not but be moved with indignation against the coward, who, apparently wishing to expose the horrible truths relative to the nature and quantity of the robberies committed upon the prisoners of war, and upon your government, has obstinately continued to conceal himself, after you have called upon him in your own justification. I hope that the letter I have the honour of writing to your advocate, Mr. Brougham, whose estimable character has just displayed itself with so much dignity in a late and important affair, may be of some service to you. I hope particularly that you will be enabled to draw some advantage from the vouchers annexed to it.

" Unfortunately, we are Frenchmen; and it seems a sort of disloyalty in this country to ask justice for us; and since France cannot be entirely killed, the most noble patriotism they can exercise, is to murder her prisoners in detail, by adding to the tortures of a dreadful confinement, privations of all kinds; by defrauding them in the quality, and quantity of provisions, and by stealing their clothing, of which they distribute scarcely a quarter of what is due.*

* Commodore Mansell had the chief command of the police of the Chatham Prison Ships. In a visit on board the Brunswick, which he made May 13, 1813, I presented several complaints to him, and amongst others, the theft of clothing. I appealed to his own evidence, to his own experience since he had commanded the Prison Ships, and to the positive complaint which I

"We have requested that inquiries might be made by impartial persons not under the pay of the admiralty; we have declared that we would expose such baseness as would make the hair rise with horror, and that we would support these disclosures by proofs clear as day. These requests we have made to persons on whose justice we thought we could calculate; but they have maintained the most profound silence.

"Can it then be true, that there no longer exist in England men intrinsically virtuous, who consider themselves obligated by duty to oppose a barrier to crime, in whatever shape it appears, without exception of rank or nation? Can it be true that no one will henceforth raise a single voice in our behalf? Your condemnation makes me fear it.

"If a single honest man, sufficiently powerful, and having a fixed determination to honour his country, and to wipe away the ignominious stain which a knowledge of all our sufferings, spread over Europe, will fix upon it, could descend* but a short time amongst us, and inform himself of the history of our miseries, with a view to re-

made to him in writing, that in 1812 they had not distributed a quarter of all the clothing due; I received for answer the following words, which I immediately wrote in a memorandum signed by all who heard them: *I am afraid it is too much the case, but I have nothing to do with it; can't help it.*

* Lord Cochran, in 1813, wished to descend into the hulks at Portsmouth. He was a Member of Parliament, and Post Captain; but he was refused admission. The object of his visit was to satisfy himself with respect to the ill treatment of the prisoners. Lord Cochran is far from being a worthy man, but he belongs to that class of opposition, which, through the hatred they bear towards the Ministry, sometimes do good. He complained to Parliament, and only received for answer, that the prisoners being under the absolute direction of the Transport Office, they alone had a right to permit or interdict an admission into the hulks, to whomsoever they pleased.

dress them, how would he subserve the cause of humanity, what claims would he have upon our gratitude!

I am, &c.

PILLET,

Adj't command."

From this affair I deduce two consequences. First, that the nation possessing such a public spirit as that of England, of which every individual is always ready to unite against a third who is a foreigner, whether right or wrong, must finally drag every thing along with it, and subjugate every thing. The second, that a nation which like the French nation, either is unwilling or cannot give itself this spirit, must be subjugated, whatever be its courage or strength.

A French writer who should have written at Paris in favour of the English, as Mr. Lovel did at London in behalf of the French, would have come off victorious in the contest; all England would have united in his favour. Not a Frenchman has assisted Mr. Lovel, nor even lamented his fate; and when I have done it, I have been honoured with the appellation of fool, for uselessly drawing down upon myself additional persecutions.

CHAP. V.

Manners of all Classes of the People.

NOTHING in England is more common than theft. It seems as if the innate desire of gain amongst this people had very naturally led them into the habit of paying but little regard to the means of acquiring it. Besides the frequent robberies upon the high-ways, every day fur-

wishes the relation of some new trick invented to plunder the credulous and unwary with impunity.

Notwithstanding the prudent custom of not increasing, as with us, the articles in daily use, and the precautions of shutting up every thing with the greatest care; notwithstanding the unmeasurable distance at which servants are kept, and the precaution which is taken to make them always give an account of the little entrusted to them, it is impossible to guard against depredations from robbers of this description, who receive lessons of their masters in this respect. For if it is difficult for a great lady to resist the temptation of stealing a valuable jewel which happens to fall in her way, the wife of a commoner will no more resist the desire of stealing from you a cambric handkerchief which you have forgotten, and placing it in her band-box.

Theft, as I have just observed, is fashionable, and particularly amongst the first ladies. They are in the habit, in the morning, of going a *shopping*, as they call it. The shop-keepers are generally flattered with seeing carriages and splendid liveries at their doors, for this implies that they are in repute. The *New Bond street* merchants (nearly resembling the *Rue Vivienne* or *Richelieu* at Paris) were formerly extremely desirous of the honour of particular visits; which, it is said, they always paid for by some piece of cloth adroitly carried off concealed under the clothes, but for which they were compensated by the right of mentioning upon their sign boards or in their cards, that they furnished such or such a lady of quality. It is well known at home at what price the things produced had been purchased. They laugh at it without troubling themselves about paying for the stolen article. The head of the family often turns it off with a joke, by saying, madam is an excellent housekeeper, and none of her children can ever equal her.

I relate public facts, considered incontestible in the city, and drawing rooms, and which I have heard mentioned a hundred times; facts, of which many satirical authors, whose works I have read, have written in prose and verse, naming the persons, from which, however, I shall carefully abstain. I am aware, that there may have been some exaggeration; but why cause such accusations if they are false, to fall upon persons of the most elevated rank? The pagans had divinities consecrated to theft and debauchery; the pagans were thieves and debauchees.

The vices of the great, necessarily have a great influence upon their inferiors.

A work intitled "A Winter in London," was published in 1796. It appeared to have been composed with the design of warning the young nobility of the interior, against the snares, and the danger of frequenting bad places in the capital. The houses of two duchesses, then rivals, are there painted in colours more disgraceful than it would be lawful to use in drawing a picture of the most infamous haunt in Italy. The author goes so far as to assert that one of them, not being sufficiently rich to meet her expenses, had concluded to add prostitution to the profits of gaming, and to sell the favours of her daughters to the highest bidder. Besides this, two of these ladies, the author asserts, had already married dukes, and it is probable the two others will not marry less advantageously. The prediction of the writer has been verified: These duchesses are distinguished in the work by the initial and final letters of their names, as I copy them; The Duch... of Devon... re, the Duch... of Gorr... ont. Every day the public is amazed by the recital of scenes which disclose a dreadful demoralization; the judges are continually beset with complaints of a species of debauchery, of a depravation of manners, which would

make the hair rise with horror, any where else but in England; and nevertheless, you hear it impudently asserted in this country, and most ridiculously repeated in France, that the English married women are all virtuous, that the French married women are all dissolute, and that nothing bearing any resemblance to the corruption of French manners is known in the Three Kingdoms.

Frenchmen! it is yourselves, and yourselves alone that you should reproach for the levity with which foreigners have bestowed the charge of dissolute conduct upon the best mothers and best wives in the world; an unjust calumny, a smart bon mot at the expense of a respectable family, have excited your laughter, and the foreigner before whom you have laughed, bearing back to his island as a fact, what was only a cruel joke, has hawked it back again in books and novels to which the translation has given it a stamp of authenticity.

The English married females more virtuous than the French !!! Forbear to repeat any longer this awful blasphemy! The virtue of French women is their own; the unlimited confidence of their husbands increases its lustre. The virtue of English women is that of slaves, which lasts no longer than while they are watched by the brute who has the care of them.

During my detention, I have read in the public papers of thirty complaints of rapes committed by fathers and fathers-in-law upon their daughters, and the daughters of their wives, children hardly seven years old.

William Tameren, in the month of February 1814, was accused of an assault against Jane Clerch his wife's daughter aged seven years, with an intent to ravish her. The father, mother, and children, had the same bed; the wife went out at an early hour, and had it not been for the curiosity of the neighbours, the brutal attempt would

not have been known. The child, infected with the venereal disease, related some particulars too shocking to be repeated.

A man named Walker, of Caroline-street, Cork, was hung in 1814. He had been accused by his wife of having stolen some bank notes; she was his accomplice; her jealousy of her own daughter, whom the father kept as a concubine, had induced this woman to deliver up her husband to justice.

One of my friends, a marine officer, a man of honour and worthy of credit, lodged in a house where lived a family composed of the husband, wife and their two daughters, who lay in the same chamber, and not far from their boarder. He had been several times awakened by the groans of the unhappy woman, whom the husband and children were beating and putting out of doors. One night, tired of these cries and complaints, in endeavouring to reconcile her to her family, what was his astonishment to learn that the disturbance proceeded from a *riot* to their father which the girls pretended to assume in contempt of the rights of their mother! Furious and indignant, he forced his way into the chamber, which they refused to open, and burst forth into reproaches. The girls answered him coldly that he had nothing to do with their family, that they were not more criminal than Lot's daughters, and God had blessed the posterity of that patriarch.

CHAP. VI.

*Common Law—Laws of the Land—Civil Condition—
Births—Marriage considered in respect to the Laws
—Wills, &c.*

BEFORE the promulgation of the civil Code, at present the admiration of all Europe, and already in a great measure imitated, or even entirely adopted by several sovereigns, almost the whole of France was governed by former usages. These had been collected and disposed in order by priests under the reign of the Valois, who had given them the force of laws. Some provinces, amongst others those of the south, were governed by the Roman law, and were called the *country of the written law*. In fine, royal ordinances had in certain cases, supplied what was wanting both in the written law and common law. In these ordinances, those known by the name of *Moulins* and *Blois*, the work of the wise and noble chancellor De l'Hopital, were distinguished. They had regulated the condition of persons in a clear manner, by obliging all the citizens, and even the sectarians, to prove their birth, marriage, and death, in an uniform manner. From that time there was no longer any uncertainty in the right of succession.

If, moreover, in certain cases, the transmission of property was at all doubtful, and if the Roman law, local customs, and the ordinances were silent, then the custom of Paris became law; and if this was silent upon the subject, the decisions of tribunals form what was long ago called the *civil jurisprudence*. Thus it appears that France could boast of possessing a sort of body of civil law.

In England, the common law and the law of the land are composed of indistinct recollections of Saxon laws, of Norman customs unauthenticated, but preserved in a scattered and disorderly condition by some chroniclers, or by civilians; and chiefly by decisions of the canonical law, which for many centuries was more respected in England than in any christian state. These canonical decisions, notwithstanding the opposition of the nation to the introduction of the Roman law, for the most part, and in those civil affairs in which the clergy interfered as appertaining to the spiritual, have been in fact taken from the Pandects and Code of Justinian, but adapted or disguised according to the interests of their patrons. The common law, the law of the land, is composed also of acts of Parliament, ordinances of the kings, and statutes made at various times and under circumstances sometimes so different, as at one time during a term of absolute regal authority, and then at a moment when the power of the people knew no control, that it cannot be said they have any thing fixed or settled in regard to person or property in England.

Notwithstanding the opinion generally entertained that persons and property are more respected in that country than any where else, I do not fear to assert that there is no nation which is in this respect more enveloped in barbarism, and farther removed from true civilization than the English. Amongst them there is no act against persons or property, however violent, (as Sir Samuel Romilly, one of their celebrated lawyers, has said, when demanding a reformation of the criminal laws) which cannot be justified and supported by some law or other. Lord Stanhope himself, in a parliamentary discussion, which I shall have occasion to cite in another place, speaking of a fictitious procedure known by the name of *Mesne Process* has learnedly proved how

easy it is to violate the person and liberty of the subject. No well established law has secured the civil condition of the person, although in England, as every where else, the church has usurped the right of proving births, marriages, and deaths. Although the records which prove the religious rite, be entrusted to the care of overseers, (wardens of the parish) still no authority authorized by law, inspects the regularity of the records, neither in the *high church* nor among the different sects which constitute more than half the population. This administration is rather an administration of benevolence and custom, than a legal one. In France, previous to the revolution, and before the promulgation of the civil Code, the records were indorsed by the magistrate, and duplicates annually deposited in the register's office. After the revocation of the edict of Nantz, every French citizen to whatever sect he belonged, was obliged to present his children at the parish font, and this advantage resulted from it, that the baptismal ceremonies became an act which legally proved the birth. It was the same with deaths. The catholic church consented, or rather allowed the protestants to dispose of the body of the deceased person; the priests did not lose their civil right of burial, and they made a record of the decease. This custom is unknown in England. The toleration of sects, their multiplication, and infinite subdivision, the obstinacy of the sectarians in only presenting themselves before their own ministers, the silence, or rather variations of the law, render the civil state so uncertain, so precarious, that too often there is no other method to secure it at the time of a change in the succession, than by possession and the notoriety of this possession, which is obliged to be admitted with so much the more facility, as the law is more defective.

I have seen an action brought by the collateral relations of a mason, who left a great fortune in London,

against a young child, whose legitimacy and succession to its father, were disputed. This trial, in which recourse was had to a *notoriety*, which would be considered much too insufficient in any other country, gives the clearest evidence of the defect of the law. They searched the records of every parish in the capital, and for thirty miles around, looking back to the most remote dates ; they examined the records of every place where they supposed the deceased had any intimacy, without finding a single note which could furnish the smallest elucidation ; nor could they find any thing more amongst his papers ; in fine, they could discover nothing which related to the birth of the child. It was only known, that, during the life of a former wife, who had no children, whose marriage certificate was produced, the mason lived in adultery with the woman whose lawful connexion with him was contested ; that at first his servant, he had afterwards caused her to take his name even in the life time of his wife, but without ever admitting her to share this title in any judicial or authentic act. A single witness, a servant girl, deposed, that since the death of the first wife, she had seen her master go out one day with the woman she called her mistress, and return again with her after an absence of two hours, and that it was on that day her mistress told her she was married. This second wife died before her husband. The parochial act of burial only contained her maiden name, and it was written in a very singular manner. Moreover, the pretended husband had caused a gravestone to be prepared in his workshop, which was designed to be his own stone also, and upon this he had engraved, that this woman, who died at such a date, and was interred in the same tomb where he wished to be buried, was his wife. The workmen who had wrought upon the stone, swore to the fact, adding however, that the stone had never been put over the place of interment, and that his master, on the con-

trary had broken it. Several witnesses deposed that the deceased at different times had made declarations to them directly in contradiction of the pretended marriage. However, notwithstanding so many irregularities, the child being born since the pretended marriage, was secured in the possession of his property. No act proved either his birth or his legitimacy ; he had only in his favour the evidence of the servant girl, the midwife and the nurse.

It was hinted at the time, that it was not so much pity for a young orphan, which had inclined the scale of justice, as to prevent the guardianship of a rich succession from devolving upon the exchequer until his majority.

Two individuals declare themselves married ; if they are called upon to prove their marriage to any authority, or to their friends, it is sufficient for them to present a scrap of paper, drawn up in the form of an act of celebration, signed by nobody knows whom *under the title of priest*, with the names of two other persons who have never existed, *but are qualified witnesses*, without any need of the name of the parish, or a publication of the bans. Thousands of marriages amongst the common people have no other authenticity, and they only last so long as it is convenient to the parties concerned. If they die and leave children, no other title is necessary to prove their legitimacy, until, however, some one should present other titles, still more authentic, such as the more regular ceremony of another marriage in a church of the established religion.

It is true that it is not exactly the same with wealthy people who may leave great estates at the time of their decease. Not to expose the heirs to tedious lawsuits, and expenses of justice which would swallow up their fortunes, they make the contract before the high church, and they take care to see that a regular certificate of their

marriage be drawn up. The Quakers alone never submit on any occasion, or in any particular, to other forms than those prescribed by their creed. All of this sect with whom I have had an opportunity of conversing, have however assured me that if they were in France, they should make no objection to submitting to the formalities which our civil laws prescribe; because it is one of their principles never to refuse to appear before the magistrate appointed by the government of the country where they reside, to declare the truth, provided no oath be required. To testify before a magistrate, that such an one is their wife, that another is their son, that they have lost a relation, is an act which not only contains nothing repugnant to their religious principles, but which coincides with the desire they cherish of living peaceably with all men; since such an act secures, preserves, and protects against the injustice of the ambitious, and the machinations of knaves, what is to them most dear, their wives and children.

The publishment of bans in the parish is required in England as it was with us before the revolution, and in the same forms; but the abuse of *licenses* is carried to an incredible pitch. Two persons entirely unknown, of whom no paper is required to prove their identity or qualifications, appear before a priest to whom the bishop has given the right of *licensing*, in a parish distant from his own; the *licenses* are purchased at a quarter before twelve at night. These *licenses* are delivered to them without the least difficulty, provided they are paid for, and they are married at a quarter past twelve in the morning, for the license and certificate of marriage must have different dates. From this unhappy facility it follows that many marriages are void, because one of the parties is often already married, or a minor.

When the parents fear that a child under age will marry against their wishes, they *procure* a *warrant* or act of the magistrate, they notify the principal minister of the parish where they suppose the young people are going to seek the nuptial benediction, and charge him not to grant it; the lovers get clear of this by going to another parish, where the *warrant* has no force, when they are informed that one has been obtained.

Minors who have married without the consent of their father or guardian, can cause them, as long as they live, to demand the annulment of their marriage, however tacitly they may have approved it. Every year, several marriages, although of long standing, are annulled under the frivolous pretext of a want of consent on the part of the natural or legal guardian. The children who spring from such an union are stamped with bastardy.

Among the marriages concluded easily and without ceremony, which take place in elevated families, may be ranked those which are contracted between young people near the frontiers of Scotland, by the ministry of a farrier, who is a clergyman of the presbyterian church, in his shop and on his anvil. This mode of marrying is so generally known, that it is unnecessary to describe it. What I have written above, proves to what a degree the English jurisprudence sports with a connexion the most sacred, the most important in life, and the most essential to the maintenance of social order. I shall in another chapter consider marriage with respect to morals. I have here exhibited it only with respect to the laws.

No one dies intestate, is a decision, introduced by the church in times of ignorance, when the clergy imposed upon the testator the obligation of leaving a part of his property to the priests, and is still in force in England, where the exchequer in most cases is substituted for the clergy. It is indispensably necessary to make a will, to

avoid the rapacity of the exchequer. Though the laws respecting wills are so imperfect, eighteen in twenty of these instruments are incontestible, although they are evidently the work of artifice and knavery. The comedy of the *Universal Legatee* is frequently performed to the life in England.

The lawyer, the nurse, the physician, and all the servants may be at the same time witnesses and legatees. The attestation of such witnesses *that the donor* had life in him, and had caused them to sign that such was his will when they wrote, is sufficient to make the will valid, although perhaps the testator was speechless and senseless when this will was read to him. Thus it is generally said in England that the fortunes of almost every lawyer are derived from this source. All know how to enrich themselves opportunely, by the donations they make to themselves in those clauses of the will which they supply; and they enjoy this ill gotten fortune with so much the more impunity, as all their knowledge and skill are exercised that the will may contain nothing contrary to law. This is easy on account of the latitude which the law allows them, and if the moderately wealthy family which they have ruined, should have at their disposal ten fortunes equal to that which has been taken from them, these would not be sufficient to undertake and prosecute an action for fraud, or a supposititious will.

In England, when they wish to show how far the law of wills is the protector of fraud, and to prove how admirably the lawyers who draw them up are fitted for cunning, chicanery, and knavery, they commonly relate the story of a lawyer and witnesses, who that they might affirm without perjury that the testator *had life in him* at the time of drawing up the will, actually put a living fly into his mouth.

The resource of the heirs, or persons wronged, is to scrutinize the instrument to discover some omission which may assist them in invalidating it, or else to compromise with the rogues, by making them uneasy on account of some informality. As to the omission of important clauses or flaws in the draft, the cases are as common in England as in any other country, even when previous to drawing up the instrument, they have consulted the most skilful lawyers.

The last Duchess of Brunswic wishing to secure to her daughter, the present princess of Wales, the whole of her real estate in England, caused her will to be executed by the Lord Chancellor and two of the most scientific lawyers in the kingdom. After her decease, the princess wished to dispose of a house, but could not, because the sagacious counsel had omitted the clause, that it was the will of the testatrix that this free disposal should be independent of the consent of the Prince, her husband. To correct this error, the Lord Chancellor was obliged to ask the Prince's consent, which, it is said, he reluctantly granted.

When a father dies without appointing in his will a guardian to his minor children, it devolves upon the King, even to the exclusion of the mother, who ought to be naturally called to it. The King exercises the guardianship by means of the Lord Chancellor. This sort of guardianship produces an immense revenue to the exchequer and the Lord Chancellor. The minor finds at his majority, his property wasted, his buildings in ruins, because the incomes, however considerable, have hardly been sufficient to pay the charges of guardianship and administration. He may consider himself fortunate, if, after many delays, he can obtain possession. So that every man who possesses any property, and has a family, should make a will, that he may avoid this misfortune.

The cunning practised in lawsuits, the embarrassments on account of delays and forms, the immense costs attending a prosecution, the selection, or rather consecration of certain Saxon, Norman, Hebrew, and Latin words for designating the different kinds and stages of an action, are a hundred times more unintelligible than they were in France before the revolution.

They never come directly to the point in any affair, but always attempt to reach it indirectly. Every affair commences with a *writ*, or summons. These *writs*, determined for each particular class of suits, are in their enactment, a law which must be conformed to, whose expressions are invariable, under pain of nullity, that is of being rejected, as was formerly the case with our claims *en retrait lignager* in districts governed by common law. Each action has its peculiar *writ*. When they do not find one which suits the action which they wish to enter, recourse must be had to fiction; you must suppose something to be due which is not due; that your adversary has certain obligations to discharge, when he has not, and add thereto the promise to give up the obligation, the action, and the supposed right, if he consents to substitute therefor another obligation, which is the true one, &c. &c. The lawful creditor of a sum for the amount whereof he has a regular claim, does not demand of his debtor before the judge the payment of what is due to him, but rather that he should *show cause* why he should not pay the sum; because in thus libelling his demand, if the plaintiff should fail by a trick of his adversary, the latter at least cannot in turn prosecute him for a false action.

The business of going to law is so expensive in England, and the litigant, unless he possess an immense fortune, is so certain of being ruined, that the remedy is in some respects placed along side of the evil. They settle

by means of arbitrators, rather than engage in a contest from which they never expect to be released. Nevertheless, the poor, in objects less important, in trifling alterations, are not entirely without justice. On the contrary, it is summarily rendered them without expense, and with much dispatch. Each principal incorporated city of the county has its *Sheriff*, each market town its *Judge*; who is commonly a rich freeholder of good character, called by us in France, *Justice of the Peace*, because his duty consists in keeping the peace in his district. They appear before him, or before the *Sheriff* in an incorporated city, by virtue of a verbal summons given by a *Constable*, or sometimes by mutual agreement; his decision, almost always correct, because founded on good sense, is executed without any appeal. If the affair seems to be somewhat important, the clerk or recorder, who is a sort of subaltern in law, registers the sentence, and it costs the losing party half a guinea, (twelve francs,) and seldom more.

CHAP. VII.

Courts of Justice—Lawyers.

THE Courts of Justice are, 1st. *Of Common Pleas*. This court judges in all civil matters. Its sessions are holden at Westminster. It is composed of the Lord Chief Justice, and three Judges. Appeals from their decisions are called *Writs of Error*, and are carried to the King's Bench.

2d. The Court of Exchequer. According to its institution, it takes cognizance of all causes, in which the King, his household, or those for whom he is accountable are interested. Nevertheless, every body is admit-

ted there; it is sufficient for that purpose, to suppose themselves in the *writ*, the King's debtors. It is composed of the Chief Baron of Justice, and three other judges.

3d. The Court of King's Bench. This is the highest court, and has under its control every jurisdiction in the kingdom. In the assizes or circuits which it makes in all the counties, it takes cognizance of all criminal, and many civil matters. *Writs of Error* against its decisions in civil matters are carried before the Court of the Exchequer Chamber, and in many instances, before the House of Lords. It is holden by the Lord Chief Justice, and three other judges.

4th. The Court of the Exchequer Chamber. This is composed of four Barons or Judges of the Exchequer, and of the Chancellor and Treasurer. It forms a Court of Equity. Sometimes it consists of twelve judges having the Lord Chancellor at their head; in that case, its object is to decide some important point of jurisprudence still pending in one of the other jurisdictions. Its decision is law.

All the courts of justice are holden at London, and people according to their different causes resort thither from all parts of England. The counties have no other tribunals than their *sheriffs* and justices of the peace in minor affairs, and their *assizes* for more important and criminal matters, which *assizes* are regularly holden twice a year in each county, and continue only four or five days.

The lawyers are classed under several denominations. The lowest, called *Pettifoggers*, a contemptuous epithet, is only an association *d'entremetteurs*, sometimes agents of the rich, but oftener counsellors and orators in taverns, for the mob, at whose expense they get intoxicated; their importance decreases in proportion as the government loses its popular form.

The time of *elections* was once that of their glory, because the candidates employed them as scouts and leaders of the tumult. They are generally poor by birth, having been, when young, the hired apprentices or servants of an *attorney*, but as they have not been admitted to a regular apprenticeship, they cannot claim that dignity. They practise, however, sometimes, in the name of an attorney, their old master, for half the profits. This class swarms with rogues, designed, and in some manner created to ruin the petty proprietors who confide in them, and to devour the common people. They are the vermin of the bar, and of justice.

The next class ascending, is that of *Attornies*. They perform at the same time, the duties of bailiffs, notaries and attornies; they fill and issue *writs*, prepare actions, acknowledge all instruments, such as wills, deeds of sale, bonds, leases, &c. To be qualified for this employment, an apprenticeship under an attorney for a stated period is necessary. To be graduated, or become what is properly called a lawyer, it is necessary to have resided and studied a certain number of years at *Lincoln's Inns* or the *Temple* in London. The word *Inn*, signifies a hotel or tavern; they are law schools for the practice of the law. A residence here is attended with great expense, and it requires a considerable fortune to meet it; because each scholar must have double lodgings in the city. The youth who attend these schools are more dissipated than studious, because they are not obliged to bestow much time upon the studies required in a certain number of years for their education. They acquire degrees without acquiring instruction, the time being almost entirely devoted to their pleasures.

After some prescribed degrees, the student is admitted as a *Barrister*, which is nearly the same as a licentiate in law. They are in some respects the *Stagiaires*

of our ancient Parliament. The *Barrister* can only plead, and it is only after considerable practice that he can plead and write also ; he then becomes a *Counsellar*. From the grade of Counsellor he passes to that of *Sergeant at Law*, the most elevated degree of a lawyer ; he then pleads, writes, consults, and sits amongst the judges ; in fine, he has reached the highest dignity of his grade, and one of the favours of the court which he receives is the title of *King's Sergeant at Law*, which means the sergeant, or pleading advocate for the King. Lord Erskine always refused this title when at the bar, because it would have imposed upon him the obligation of never pleading against the King, and would have deprived distinguished persons who had been wronged, of the resources of his illustrious talents. This title, which imposed no other obligation than that of not pleading against the King, or the interest of the ministers, gives to him who possesses it, the right of wearing a silk robe, and a pension of 200 pounds sterling (about 5000 francs) per annum. This is generally the first step towards the corruption of a popular advocate, and it is among this class of lawyers, that the ministers nominate members of Parliament, for whom they purchase seats upon condition of receiving their votes.

The assistance of lawyers in England, is enormously expensive. A rich man who has an action, and has employed them in it, so far from seeking, on the contrary carefully avoids them, because their conferences are paid for at an extravagant rate. A ceremonious visit, sometimes a salutation in the street, a meeting in the drawing room, are considered so many conferences, charged at their proper dates.

The Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice, the Judges of the King's Bench, the Speaker of the House of Commons, who after a certain time is always created a peer, the principal ministers, and a great part of the members of

this same House of Commons, are all graduated lawyers. This profession is one of the principal and most infallible means for obtaining a fortune, and the most distinguished honours.

CHAP. VIII.

Study of the Law.

THE debates of the English Parliament in both houses, interest in a manner far otherwise than the discussions of our different legislatures, if however we except our Constituent Assembly. The reason, as every one will observe, is plain. Most of our representatives in the national assemblies, have been either worthy proprietors, whose narrow views never extended beyond the district where they were born, and which they had seldom quitted, or advocates, whose verbose eloquence was not always destitute of grace or talent, but whose knowledge was confined to the discussion of petty family concerns, to the interpretation of the clauses of a marriage contract or a will, or to an explanation of the respective obligations of the proprietors of a partition wall ; such were our Trouchet, Target, Portalis, Regnier, &c.

None of our assemblies have furnished real statesmen, except the Constituent Assembly, where so great talents and so little knowledge are found united ; an assembly which embraced in its bosom Mirabeau, the greatest statesman France has possessed, and M. Cazales, a statesman when a mere boy.

It is not because we are less fitted than the English to become statesmen, but political science was completely unknown in France before the revolution, it was even dangerous. There was not, moreover, a nation more igno-

rant than ours in regard to public law. No one thought himself obligated to attend to it, and was not interested in this kind of study. So far from encouraging it, the absolute government under which we lived seemed to proscribe it. It would have regarded with jealousy and fear the men who should have shown themselves able to enlighten the nation in regard to their rights, and the faults of the administration. Such men could not have lived in the bosom of their country without being imprisoned or exiled. It is not so in England.

The House of Lords and the House of Commons embrace at each session a great number of men profoundly instructed in the great concerns of their country, and in the particular interests of every country on the globe, which they pretend to govern, and over which they have in reality obtained the command as it respects political influence. Rich and noble families oblige their children, after a regular course of academical studies, to go through a course of public law in the universities of Cambridge and Oxford ; the princes themselves connected with the royal family, do not neglect this study. The President of the university of Cambridge, at present, is the Duke of Gloucester, the King's nephew : and to arrive at this station it is necessary for him to have passed through every degree in the university. Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, &c. have previously occupied it. Every body is a Doctor of Laws in England ; but this noble profession has its determinate ranks, according to the application any one may wish to make of it.

All the wealthy Englishmen as I have said, make the tour of the continent. Almost all study with particular care, and thoroughly examine a science which is one day to conduct them to reputation or fortune, and which is to consolidate or augment the prosperity of their country. The lord, the extensive landholder, and the affluent, who

are destined to discharge the duty of legislators, give themselves assiduously to the general study of the law of nations and public law, of which they have already learned the rudiments at the university. They add to this a particular study of the different countries they pass through. If France present them an abundant harvest in the study of her judiciary laws, the only thing which our ministry or council of state have well directed since the revolution, because it is the only thing they have well understood, it is by their own fire-sides or in Germany that the English finish the study of the public law. Germany is as rich, as France is poor in this science.

In England, the statesmen and the great functionaries are for the most part fellow labourers in the periodical works which are circulated in the Three Kingdoms. These papers have none of the dreadful sterility, the insipid luxuriance, the base flattery, or the pedantry of ours. There, college professors are not seen as with us, making dull, academical discussions upon the acts of government, and talking nonsense like rhetoricians, on the concerns of the state. The English publications are enriched with matter collected in all countries by the first men in the nation, by those travellers who have been to study and reflect in foreign lands. These publications announce to the public what may one day be expected in the British senate from such men; and are in some manner the precursors of their parliamentary reputation. Surely our *French Gazettes*, our *Journals of Debates*, &c. are far from being equally interesting or instructive. Our editors would in vain attempt to imitate the English papers, because they are so ignorant of what they ought to know, and so destitute of that mass of information which it is necessary to possess, to write in so solid and useful a manner. The English journals are a course of

these carriages were mere broken chests, the drivers and footmen had disappeared, the horses were completely jaded, and emaciated with fatigue and hunger. During the six days of the election, these carriages continually changed their master, that is to say their triumpher; they never rested but at the doors of taverns and tippling houses, kept open and supplied by the candidates for the national representation. In fine, the elections, and I have seen that of Mr. Fox, for Westminster, were a real boxing match; the spectators in spite of themselves often became actors, and seldom did they escape without some lusty cuffs, especially if the conquering party suspected them of disaffection.

Elections are now more peaceably conducted. A few rich families excited by the ambition of furnishing a representative, rather than by party spirit, exert themselves amongst their friends. These prepare themselves beforehand according to the importance of the part they perform, and according to their landed property, and the party which yields, loses nothing by this arrangement, for the ministry procure him a seat in some *rotten borough*. I shall show in another place what is meant by a *rotten borough*.

In the last elections, the ministers have attached so little importance to the prevention of the election of members the most noted for their indiscriminate opposition, that they declared to the borough of Westminster that these elections, if Cochrane and Burdett were the candidates, would not be contested; and these elections really took place without any fighting, the opening of a single tavern, or one opposition vote.

Westminster is built without the limits of the ancient city of London. This part of the city has its separate magistrates and representatives, and is inhabited by all the aristocracy of England. The Lords, and all the rich

landholders, who, at least in appearance, have no concern in commerce, reside in this part of the capital, the inhabitants of which have always made a duty of sending to Parliament the two members who had the highest reputation for democracy. This policy is artful, and has a highly interested motive. If the rich inhabitants of Westminster had acted differently at a time when the people had real political strength, and purposed any thing, the electors would have paid for the triumph of their election by the breaking of their furniture and demolition of their houses at the least parliamentary movement in which their representatives should have acted in an unpopular manner.

Although this kind of policy may be no longer necessary at the present day, they still continue to employ it, and if two men more infamous than *Lord Cochrane*, who by a verdict was branded as a swindler, and *Francis Burdett*, who was publicly posted as a coward, could be raked from the mire of democracy, Westminster would go to seek them. The reason is plain; the votes of such men have no weight in Parliament, and their election, of no consequence to the ministry, is a slight homage paid to the will of the common people. To be an elector in incorporated towns, it is necessary to be the head of a family, dwelling in, or at least occupying part of a hired house, to do business for one's self, and pay taxes. To be an elector in the *boroughs*, it is necessary to be a freeholder. The freehold is in reality what our *Franc-Alleu* should have been before the revolution; for our *franc-alleu* became imaginary, after the royal axiom, *no land without a lord*. The kings were *by right* lords of all the land which knew no other, except there were a title to it in favour of the proprietor; but the kings of the two last dynasties having never granted similar titles, it was necessary to go back to the kings of the first dynasty to

find them, whence it appears that there did not exist a *franc-alieu* in France. Freehold estates are very few in number. In the environs of the little town of *Bishop's Waltham*, in the county of Hampshire, where I have resided, there are only two *freeholds*. These two do not contain a quarter of an acre each. The elector, their proprietor, had built a small house at the extremity of his ground, and all the rest of the county is holden by the Bishop of Winchester, either by *copy-hold*, which answers to our ancient *acensement*, or by *long-lease*, that is, a lease granted forever.

Those ancient boroughs whose *freehold* estates were at the most remote date very much subdivided, and whose inhabitants, freeholders, were considerable in number, are at present deserted, all the *freehold* estates belonging to a single proprietor. He nominates alone, one, two, or three representatives to which the freehold is entitled; and this is what is called a *rotten-borough*.

Such property was invaluable some years ago, compared with its intrinsic worth. The possessor sold his right to nominate, for immense sums, either to the ministry or the opposition, as his opinion made him incline towards one or the other party, and in addition to this he received establishments for his family in the military or civil department. In the bargain, he commonly reserved a seat in Parliament for himself or one of his sons, upon condition of voting in favour of the party to whom he sold. It is thus that many members, the sons of rich mechanics or merchants, Mr. Whitbread, for example, get into Parliament.

The importance of *rotten boroughs* is diminished; nevertheless they are a rich source of wealth and favour to their proprietors. The opposition which is now a mere mockery, does not covet them, but the ministry buys them at a very high price. The sons, nephews, cousins of the

seller, his protégés, are placed in the army, in civil employment or in the magistracy, according to their talents or inclination. The representation of the boroughs is then given to *Sergeants at Law* and *Advocates* at London, who have grown old at the bar without much reputation, who vote in the House of Commons by yea or nay, in pursuance of the instructions of their patrons, and whenever they request it.

In every Parliament, the question of *rotten boroughs* is agitated, and a parliamentary reform demanded, so that the representation may be proportioned to the population. This demand is the hinge of consolation on which the people depend, and it indemnifies them for the loss of their power and ancient influence. It is a salutary *pierre d'attente*, if properly managed, to consolidate the old edifice by new works. Parliamentary reform (if we may believe the chief leaders,) will only be effected by a revolution. The *rotten boroughs* agree perfectly with the present order of things, and the ministers, as well as the lords, instead of abolishing them, would augment their number if they could.

CHAP. X.

Constitution.

SINCE the nullity of the King, who became insane more than twenty-five years ago, and since the energetic measures employed by Mr. Pitt, according to the lessons and example of his father, Lord Chatham, there has been no English Constitution. It has neither altered its form nor name, but it has totally changed in fact.

According to all the English civilians, regal despotism, the aristocracy of nobles, and popular democracy, are the

three agents necessary to a good political constitution. Two of these agents should always be ready to restore the equilibrium against the strongest, whichever it be, who should attempt to monopolize the power. Where the principles of royalty and democracy, (the former of which by its immutability, its regular pace, and the latter by its turbulency, will be always trying, each for itself, to become possessed of universal power) become connected with a wise and powerful aristocracy, liberty and rights are guaranteed. The democratic and royal principle are at present entirely banished from the English government, and it is the aristocracy, which, it should seem, ought to be more a protector, than the other two, which has performed this work, being united by interest to the rich members of the House of Commons with the sole view of establishing an order of things, which seems to secure their tranquility and respective fortunes. This union forms a true ministerial oligarchy.

The ministers no longer appertain to the King, and have ceased to be his servants, although called by that name. They are subject to this oligarchical faction, which is directed by the families of the great. These, however, through the fear they inspire, and personal ambition, which leads them to do too much for themselves, are not permitted to take an active part, either in the ministry, or in the armies, but they create and support both the ministers and the generals. Thus for instance, Lord Wellington is not the general of the King, nor of the nation, but of the oligarchy. He was taken from an Irish family, from whose predominancy they thought there was nothing to fear; and it is to destroy this predominancy, that as fast as Wellington has risen into favour, or become more powerful, his brother, the Marquis of Wellesley, the first cause of his fortune, has been cautiously removed from the ministry.

The Regent governs in the name of the King his father, but this Prince on the throne, neither is, nor ever will be any thing more than an automaton. He will see his name, as at present, at the head of public acts, and great demonstrations of respect will be lavished upon his office; but he will obtain nothing more. The unimportant life which he has led, and which they will endeavour to continue, is a security to the oligarchy, that he will only possess the form of that share of power attributed to him by the constitution.

Their foresight has been carried to a great extent, and has already reached even to the daughter of the Prince Regent, the Princess Charlotte. They have attempted to tarnish her first appearance in the world, to bind her the easier, so as not to run the chance of seeing another Elizabeth, upon the throne of England, of which the oligarchy is not very desirous. The chief design of the scandalous affair, which a base flattery of the passions of the princes has produced between the Prince and Princess of Wales, was to strip these august personages of every kind of popularity, to cause the Princess of Wales to be sent away from England, and to deprive her daughter of the counsels of a mother, whose determined character might have been able to suggest some energetic ideas of government.

It cannot be doubted that in the present state of things, the English government, as it now exists, is placed between two rocks. Let there appear an energetic prince at its head, and let the democracy be caressed, and then the aristocracy, frightened for its own safety, will see the reins of government slide from its hands, and the Prince will govern despotically. On the contrary, let there be a man of the people, whose character is as brilliant as that of Pitt, but in a sense purely

democratic, and then the English government will approach towards republicanism.

The political dissensions of Europe will only retard this final catastrophe, to render it more inevitable, if the oligarchy, which its encroachments should frighten, does not adopt the wise resolution of abandoning a part of its usurpations, and confining itself within those reasonable limits, which alone will secure that share of power, with which its interest, rightly understood, would require it to be satisfied.

CHAP. XL.

Parliament of England.

It is well known that the Parliament of England is composed of two houses, the *Lords* and *Commons*. All the English peers, that is, all the nobles, constitute the House of Lords, or Peers. The only noble or peer in a family, is he who bears the title of duke, count, marquis, or baron. Since the union of the two kingdoms, that of Scotland under the reign of Anne, and that of Ireland under George III. the nobility of those two states send deputations to the House of Peers. The lords who have not been deputed by their peers, may be by the commons, and it is in this manner that Lord *Castlereagh*, Lord *Milton*, and several other Irish and Scotch lords hold seats in the House of Commons.

The King can create as many peers as he pleases in the Three Kingdoms. It is computed that seven hundred have been created since the reign of Charles II. George III. alone has created more than three hundred of them. This creation, which should not be made except where the want of some great national reward for splendid civil

or military services requires it, has more than once been disgraced by being done through favour or necessity. It has a tendency to secure a majority to the King in the House of Lords which he had not, the titles of the new lords only being conferred upon condition that they vote on the side of the King.

The creation of titles in the other two kingdoms does not present the same inconveniencies, and the same danger to the political constitution, for the number of lords does not increase that of the voters.

Two high offices in the state give the hereditary peerage, or title of lord, if those who possess these offices are not already invested with the title, viz. the Lord Chancellor and Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who become lords at the moment of their appointment to those stations. This creation is not constitutionally indispensable, but is consecrated by custom. The appointment of Speaker to the House of Commons, commonly leads to it; but it is not until after a course of services during several Parliaments, that the Speaker, continued by the House, and the concurrence of the King, who must approve of the choice, is created a lord.

The Mayor of London is a lord only during his continuance in office.

The Bishops of the English Church are spiritual lords and have a seat in the House of Lords. They enjoy all the privileges of the nobility, which are not incompatible with their ecclesiastical character. They cannot vote in the House of Lords when a cause is to be judged in which the accused may be condemned to suffer capital punishment. It is not for want of the right; but in obedience to the maxim, *Ecclesia abhorret a sanguine*, the church abhors blood. Each title has its bench; there is the Bench of Spiritual Lords, that of Dukes, Counts, Marquises, and Barons. Each title has also its

peculiar costume. That of the secular lords consists of a red robe raised on the left hip to clear the sword. This robe is more or less lined with ermine. The capes are larger or smaller according to the dignity of the title; the collars of the orders, and the folds of the robe are tied with tassels of gold. The members of the House of Commons have no particular dress. The Lords may vote in their House by proxy by sending their written vote; the Commons are not allowed this privilege. In fine, liveries and coats of arms are common to every body, but the coronets with which those of the lords alone are crested, and which designate the title and dignity, are above the reach of the merchant and commoner.

The *bills* or laws of Parliament relative to the government of the Three Kingdoms, the police, and justice, may be proposed by either house. When the bill proposed by one is agreed to by the other, it is presented to the King, who allows or rejects it by one or the other of these French forms, *Le Roi le veut—Le Roi s'avisera.*

Since the reign of William the Conqueror, who introduced the Norman language and laws, and the reign of the Plantagenets who spoke no other, the English language has laid claim to many French words, which have now an English signification. There remain many sentences or short French phrases in the law language, and in old establishments. These phrases have often retained the French signification, and are spoken by the English without being understood by them. For instance, the person who calls attention, when the King or his ministers in his name, deliver a speech in Parliament, and the bailiff who orders silence when the judges of a court are going to pronounce the sentence, do it by pronouncing the old French word *Oyez*. A student, a fellow in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, whose duty it is to give notice of the hours for eating, is known by the

name of *mangé*. The motto of the Order of the Garter is French, *Honni soit qui mal y pense*; and that of the arms of England also, *Dieu et mon droit*.

The tax bills, and those which constitute, augment, or disband the army or navy, belong exclusively to the House of Commons. The royal power, like that of the House of Lords, has no other concurrence in these bills than the right of negativing or approving them. The power of the House of Commons over this description of bills, is not limited to the imposition of taxes, or the augmentation of the army; it has a right to oversee their execution, to demand an account of the employment of the funds, and to impeach the ministers if the funds have not been appropriated to the object for which they were voted, if the army allowed them has had any other destination than that designated in the original bill, or has been employed in a war which the nation disapproves. For if the King has a right, by the constitution, to make peace and declare war, and if, according to the constitutional principle, *The King can do no wrong*, it is not so with the ministers, who are always responsible for the misapplication of the constitutional rights of the King.

The members of the House of Commons hold their office seven years; this is what is called the duration of the Parliament. Formerly the Parliament was triennial; it has now become septennial. This prolongation of the term of office affords an easier opportunity of corrupting the members. It is more advantageous for despotism to pay for seven years of corruption, and it is less expensive to have seven years secured in advance, than only three. This arrangement is one of the great causes which have sapped the foundations of the British constitution, and must destroy the liberties of the nation.

At the expiration of seven years, the functions of the members cease, and a new Parliament must be elected.

The King alone has a right to cause an election, and he does it by virtue of *writs* which he dispatches into every county to the *sheriffs* of incorporated cities, and to boroughs having the right of election. It depends upon the King to prolong or dissolve the Parliament at pleasure, but he must cause another to be elected if he wishes to procure an army or taxes. Both must be voted each year and for that year only.* The Parliament is generally convoked in the month of November, and adjourned in the month of May, except the necessities of the state or the apprehensions of the ministers, cause the term of the session to be prolonged or shortened.

The session of the House of Commons commences with three *bills*. The first is that of taxes. This bill directs that all the various branches of imposts shall continue to be collected as in the preceding year, until the House shall have examined, when the budget is brought forward, what suppressions or augmentations it is proper to make, according to the necessities of the state. The second bill keeps on foot for the current year, the sea and land army of the preceding year. If this bill were not brought, the army would be lawfully disbanded, and the individuals who compose it declared rebels if they remained under arms. This bill is called the mutiny bill, because the army being continued, it calls all who desert their standards, rebels and mutineers. The third bill is called the bill of *indemnity*. If, during the absence or adjournment of Parliament, the ministers have expended sums greater than those allowed them by Parliament, if they have extended the measures of safety or government which they had been authorized to take,

* There are nevertheless several imposts, which, being created to meet some urgency, or support a war, are granted for several years in succession. The number fixed is generally determined or proportioned by the event which gave rise to it, as for instance, the duration of the war.

they declare that the necessity of the service, and circumstances, have forced them to this extension; they then receive a sort of absolution, and are declared not liable to an accusation, although they may have incurred the penalty of it. Since the ministry of Mr. Pitt, the bill of indemnity has been merely a bill of course, and a political juggle.

The King can select his ministers from either house; when he takes any from the House of Commons, they are obliged, as it is called in parliamentary language, to vacate their seats, to consult the opinion of their electors, who perhaps would not have given their votes to confidential servants of the King, if they had been ministers at the time of their election; but as this choice of ministers, and the overthrow of those who preceded them, are almost always made in accordance with the popular sentiment, the new ministers never fail to be re-elected.

Certain places which require a constant residence or responsibility, are incompatible with representation. A member of Parliament nominated to one of these places loses his seat if he accept it. These places are clearly designated and defined by the rules of the House and acts of Parliament.

The person of members of Parliament is inviolable during the whole of its continuance; they cannot be imprisoned for debt, and can never be called to account for any opinions they may have advanced in parliamentary discussions. The House can, by its Speaker, call them to order. If a member be wanting in respect to the House, or speaks to them in what can be considered a seditious manner, no authority has a right to judge him but the House itself, which, in this case, being formed into a committee of the whole, can punish the representative who may thus have forgotten his duty, by con-

fining him a few days only in the Tower. Any member guilty of a high crime, can be sent before the tribunals, but the House must first pronounce judgment. A crime which does not incur the penalty of death, and whose penalty has been submitted to, is effaced at the time designated for its expiation. Nothing restrains the sovereignty of the people in the choice of its representatives. A man condemned to the pillory, or for a time transported, when he has returned to the class of citizens, after having satisfied the law, may be elected a member of Parliament.

It is hardly forty years since Mr. *Wilkes*, prosecuted for sedition by the King's Bench, after having taken refuge in France to escape a warrant for his arrest, was elected member of Parliament by the city of London. The House declared the election void. The electors assembled again, and reappointed Mr. *Wilkes*, even the third time. The city of London nominated him Lord Mayor. The King refused to confirm the nomination, as he had a right to do, and the two following years London was destitute of a Lord Mayor. At last he was obliged to yield, and Mr. *Wilkes*, who was esteemed the worthy and honourable defender of the rights of the people, became a member of Parliament, and Lord Mayor of London.

CHAP. XII.

The Opposition Party.

Before George III. was deprived of the exercise of the powers vested in him by the constitution, a strong opposition, always ready to invoke the aid of the people, and give them an impulse capable of intimidating the throne, was regarded as indispensable in England. Such was the opposition of Mr. Fox at the commencement of his political career, such was the opposition of Mr. Pitt, of Wilkes, of Lord Chatham, of Pulteney, Walpole, &c. since the reign of the house of Hanover. If the ministers, yielding to the will of the King, had pushed the exercise of their authority too far, the King himself had no other expedient to prevent a general sedition than to have recourse to this same opposition, and throw himself into its arms. It appointed the ministers, and governed, without any apparent change of principles; it is this which caused it to be said, with sufficient justice, that the ministry which made war, could never make peace.

The opposition at the present day, is a mere form. It is divided into two branches, the opposition of talents, and (excuse the expression) that of the mob. At the head of the former, are Lords Grenville and Grey in the House of Lords, Mr. Whitbread in the House of Commons, and a few members respectable for their morality or their political character, as Mr. Alexander Baring, on all important commercial questions, and Sir Samuel Romilly, on the subject of legislation. Mr. Canning also figures in the opposition, when he is not a minister; but he has no sort of integrity. He is in favor of the most violent measures of the ministry, when a minister, or expecting

to be one ; and for the turbulent and low opposition, when this expectation is blasted ; that is to say, Mr. Canning is even lower than the second class of opposition.

Lord Stanhope, and Lord Holland, in the House of Peers, are the leaders of the second branch of opposition. Lord Holland, nephew of Charles Fox, wishes apparently to pursue the same course with his uncle, but this kind of opposition is now useless. Lord Stanhope is a man of much honour, integrity, sense, and even information, but this lord has a character, whose every flight, and every action is allied to folly. Of high standing, affluent, and generous, he sometimes takes a fancy to live with more frugality than a wretched mechanic, and all his family must conform to this economical mania. He had placed his son when a youth, in the family of a poor shoemaker ; this child pursued his studies, but the lord, his father, obliged him nevertheless to live with the shoemaker, and lie with his boys. He is a fervent preacher of the doctrine of *equality*. When his daughter became marriageable, the whim took him, and he tried to persuade her that she was in love with an apothecary's boy, and she was married to this man. It was his intention to make the new couple keep shop, but he has not been able to carry this point. From the commencement of the French revolution, whose excesses only he approved, he caused his hair to be cut, and adopted the dress of the *Quakers*. His lady, a very respectable woman, died of the mortifications and sufferings caused by the eccentricities of her husband.

The conduct of Lord Cochrane and Sir Francis Burdett is well known ; the latter has become the object of contempt and public ridicule, by the cowardice with which he abandoned his followers, when he came out of the Tower, into which he had entered with so much honour ; and the baseness with which he submitted to the

threats of the ministry, has covered him with lasting disgrace. They had given him to understand that he would be assassinated, if he should dare to show himself in the midst of the people, and accept the triumphant honours they wished to bestow upon him. Thus are the two leaders of the opposition in the House of Commons degraded. Their only object in speaking, is to divert the House, as it is commonly called, and they never speak without increasing the contempt which has been justly bestowed upon them.

In great and important measures, the talents, that is to say, Lord Grenville, Lord Grey, and their friends, have more of the direction than the ministry themselves, or rather they govern entirely. The political crimes which have for several years been committed by the cabinet of London, to set Europe in flames, have been as much the work of these lords, as of the ministry.

For a long time, the speakers of the opposition have only discussed subjects of little consequence; their speeches are violent to no purpose. The parts are distributed, and the actors acquit themselves with more or less warmth, according to a concerted plan. If this perfidious mask has now become useless to England, in her internal government, it is of great service to her in her relations with foreign courts. It allows her to penetrate thus, into the secrets of those with whom she is at war, because the members of the opposition being able, as their interest dictates, to appear conciliating, enable their government to cause propositions to be made without dishonour, which are contrary to her ostensible proceedings, and even suddenly to make a retrograde step in her political resolutions, which an absolute government cannot do without appearing inconsistent with itself. The crafty cabinet then, not only bring new men upon the stage, but at such a crisis, it makes use of men who have

openly professed opinions opposite to their own. It has, as may be seen, in this peculiar resource, an immense advantage over the other cabinets of Europe, who are far from being acquainted with the artful policy of the ministerial power.

I do not hesitate to believe that the course pursued by Mr. Whitbread in the parliamentary discussions, relative to the spoliating operations of the Congress of Vienna, may have been perfectly honourable. I do not doubt that the noble accents he has uttered in favour of liberty and the political independence of states, may have been in accordance with his real sentiments; but as these speeches are so many stepping stones in regard to the measures to be pursued in future events, I should not venture to affirm that the English cabinet itself, has not more or less influenced the spirit of the ministerial speeches delivered by the honourable member of the Commons.

The last grand affair of Ireland, in which the opposition manoeuvred according to a concerted plan, all the particulars of which are well known, will give an example of the English ministerial spirit. The readers will be able to judge of the true character of the opposition, and its utility to ministers in difficult cases.

Ireland was in a state of combustion; civil war extended its ravages to every corner of the kingdom, and was excited by the English government itself. Persuaded that the embarrassments, or military operations of France would not permit that power to furnish any assistance to the Irish, the government thought itself able to give the finishing stroke to this unhappy country, to subjugate it, and keep it in subjection. Meanwhile, the burnings, scaffolds, the impunity of the assassinations committed upon the persons of the Catholics, did not compass any thing; and resistance was continually in-

creasing. Ireland, although abandoned to herself, might every moment be separated from the metropolis; the ministers had lost all their energy, and their imbecility might produce the most dreadful divisions.

The opposition then stepped in to their assistance. It came forward, and appeared to dictate the terms upon which it would consent to take the reins of government. Those conditions were the promised promulgation of a bill, accepted beforehand by the King, for the complete emancipation of the Roman Catholics. The bill was to allow that portion of the population, which constitutes four fifths of the Kingdom of Ireland, the free exercise of their religion, the right of holding any civil or military employment, whether elective, or by royal appointment. All was accepted, and nothing was wanting but the necessary time to mature the bill, and prepare the public mind to receive it without any convulsions.

Upon the faith of this treaty, in which the King and the Parliament were solemnly engaged, Ireland laid down its arms; all was hushed, every thing was restored to order, and the opposition ruled. If this hypocritical opposition had not been the abettors of the ministry, when they themselves became ministers, they should have fulfilled such sacred promises, they should have impeached their predecessors, and their heads, with that of Lord Castlereagh, the executioner of their orders in Ireland, should have answered for the torrents of innocent blood shed in that unhappy kingdom. The opposition *was silent.*

During three succeeding sessions, for the sake of form, the question of the emancipation of the Catholics was discussed; in fine, when the effervescence of the public mind was well over, and every thing ready for the adoption of a definitive measure, in 1808, this same opposition caused a kind of revolt to be excited around them. Every

corner of England was filled with writings against the emancipation ; they caused the populace to write over all the walls in London, *No Popery, down with the Ministry*. The King's delicacy of conscience was brought forward, and it was declared that amongst the oaths pronounced by him at his coronation, that never to allow the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion throughout his realms, and the solemn promise to exterminate it, did not permit him to consent to the emancipation bill.

The engagements made by the Parliament were not less sacred than those of the King. To be released from them and break them, the ministers caused themselves to be dismissed, the old ministers were recalled, the Parliament was dissolved, and a new one convoked, Ireland had been strongly garrisoned with English troops, all the Roman Catholics had been carefully disarmed ; the danger was past. See what unhappy Ireland gained. Their union was declared in the same manner as that of Scotland had been under Queen Anne. Their Parliament was abolished, their representation was melted down, that is, annulled in the English Parliament. The Irish minority renders Ireland almost nothing there, and the residence of those of her members, who, to sit in Parliament, are obliged to quit Dublin, and reside in London, makes so many hostages of these members, and becomes to Ireland a pledge of submission and slavery.

England found itself in danger, in several important respects, after the destruction of the English army at Corunna, and during the successes of the French army in Russia ; the opposition was then ready to resume the ministry, that the government itself might be able to change measures ; but the rapidity of events caused a change in the course of the opposition, who, always reserving themselves for still greater events, continued to manœuvre with the ministers behind the curtain.

Statesmen who respect my country, doubtless are as well acquainted with, and appreciate as well as I do, the English opposition. So far it has only made dupes or traitors of every man in foreign courts, who has suffered himself to be deceived by it. In politicks, the English government is what the English are in civil life, in individual transactions. Are you attacked, does an Englishman put a pistol to your breast? Woe to you if an Englishman comes to your assistance. Extricate yourself before he arrives. Whatever language he employs, be assured he comes to discover your weak side, to aid you perhaps if you are strong, but to tie your hands, that you may be more surely murdered, if there be a probability that you must yield. I have seen these horrid examples multiplied beyond calculation, whenever any of our poor prisoners were attacked by any of the common people.

In fine, that all my thoughts in regard to the opposition may be well understood, if honest men ask me this question, "Have you no faith then, in the virtues of its members? Wilberforce was not then sincerely the friend of the blacks? Lord Holland did not then ardently desire an exchange of prisoners in the last war? Mr. Whitbread has not always sincerely talked of the re-establishment of peace?" I will answer, I do not wish to judge the heart of any one, but I am too well acquainted with England, to believe the existence of any virtue in that government; its mask only is known; the parts of the opposition are distributed as they distribute the parts of financiers, lovers, valets or tyrants, at the theatre; and he who was applauded yesterday in Sertorius, tomorrow will perform the part of Nero with no less success. The famous Edmund Burke, after having figured thirty years at the head of the opposition, went over to the opposite party, when he thought that in this new capacity he could do more injury to France.

CHAP. XIII.

Taxes—Public Debt.

It would be difficult for any one to have an idea of the extent of taxes in England. It is necessary to have lived a long time in that kingdom to judge how far they would be insufferable by any other people. The English pay them however without murmuring, because the taxes are voted by their representatives; because they fall upon the landholder and the affluent, in proportion to their wealth; and because the poor pay nothing except they wish to procure articles whose consumption is not of the first necessity, and wish to enjoy this superfluity, which vanity and luxury make an article of necessity to the rich.

Landed property pays into the treasury nearly a quarter of its net products. Valuations the most exact, and calculations the best founded, fix the tax upon a landed income of from twenty to twenty-one francs at five francs. This is called the *Land Tax*.

The income derived from industry pays in the same proportion. This description of taxes is called the *Income Tax*. It is levied on the declaration upon oath of the person liable to pay it. The inspectors are authorized to demand all the receipt books of the debtor to satisfy themselves that there was no fraud and perjury in the declaration; if there be fraud, the tax is doubled, and a heavy fine besides is added to the double taxation.

The doors and windows pay a considerable tax, beginning at a determinate number; that is, from the single door and window of the hovel of the poor, who pay nothing, the tax continues to increase gradually in proportion to the wealth of the proprietor; for instance, if ten

doors and windows pay ten francs, twenty apertures pay twenty francs, forty pay one hundred and sixty francs, &c.

After these taxes comes that for the poor, known by the name of *Poor Rates*; it is collected for the benefit of the parish. This tax amounts to seven million pounds sterling,* that is, one hundred and sixty-eight millions of livres. I always reckon the pound sterling at twenty-four francs, for the sake of even change. Then come the taxes for the support of lighting and paving the streets, and the night watches for all the cities, market towns, and boroughs of the county.

The *Excise* may be compared to our *droits reunis*; it is however, if possible, more burdensome, more tiresome and more vexatious. It has a right to extend its inspection over almost every article of consumption, and its visits into every dwelling.

The Customs are a branch of the *excise*. They levy immense duties upon all articles for importation and exportation. These duties are calculated according to the wants of the state, but so as not to prejudice the encouragement of their manufactures, and particularly so as to favour the exportation of their own productions.

For instance, every article manufactured, before it is consumed in England, pays a considerable duty, which sometimes amounts to twenty per cent. on the value, but should the manufacturer design it for exportation, the duty he has paid is not only returned to him under the title of a *drawback*, but he receives besides, a premium sufficiently large for his encouragement, according to the nature of the article, or the necessity of destroying the fabrication of such articles in foreign countries; and

*. This tax is for alms or assistance given to residents at home. The expenses of *Workhouses*, *Almshouses*, and *Charity Schools*, amount to nearly double this sum. From this any one may judge what an enormous sum the poor cost in England, and how numerous they must be.

hence it is that so many English stuffs abound at so low a price in all the markets of Europe, while the consumer at London pays almost double the price.

The clergy of the English church collect in every parish from all the inhabitants, to whatever sect they belong, the tenth of all the products of the earth.

An English citizen, of whatever condition or profession he may be, cannot escape any of these imposts, except he be enrolled amongst the poor of the parish; then he pays no direct tax, but on the other hand it is he who receives pay.

The head of a family, having a profession, a tailor or shoemaker for instance, which he carries on in a shop, or living in a small chamber, declares and proves to the parish that he is encumbered with five or six children, or that with only his wife, he is infirm, and his labour and industry do not produce half the necessaries of life, then he is enrolled on the list of *paupers*, and receives weekly half of what he needs, from the tax known by the name of *poor rates*.

The parishes least burdened, reckon on this list at least a quarter of their inhabitants; some reckon a third. The populous parishes in the suburbs of London and the adjacent villages, particularly the parish of *Acquenay*, reckon two thirds of their inhabitants on this list, and at the charge of the parish. The *poor tax* is never fixed; it varies according to the wants of the parish. There are instances, where, to each individual who pays, it amounts to more than the income tax. The riches of England may be calculated from this statement: The wealth of this kingdom, as has been seen, is not territorial, and is without bottom; it is wholly commercial, the product of industry, and consequently accidental. England is a purveyor, poor by birth, who has acquired a great fortune, and lives in unbounded luxury, but whose fortune is almost entirely afloat.

The duties upon all articles imported from foreign countries are excessive; they are moderated according to the demand for the article imported, and the future profit of re-exportation, if the imported articles be raw, and are to be manufactured in England.

Wines pay enormous duties. Those of Portugal, which cost the English agency about twelve pence a bottle at their warehouses in Oporto, do not sell for less than six francs at London. The Portuguese wines are under the special protection of the government, since Portugal has become an English province. The physicians recommend this wine exclusively in their prescriptions, and did not add Madeira until that island was taken possession of by the English.

A bottle of Claret wine would cost fifteen or eighteen francs, and a bottle of Champagne twenty-four. The duties alone cause the high price of French wines, and it would be wrong to attribute it to the difficulty of procuring this liquor in time of war. Government, in principle, may have designed to discourage the consumption of French wines, by the enormity of the duties, but vanity has triumphed over policy, or rather the public spirit has made it a duty to contribute largely in this instance, to the alleviation of the necessities of the state; for the table of a gentleman who gives a dinner, is considered but meanly furnished, if Claret and Champagne do not predominate over Port.

I have briefly spoken of the taxes which support England; I shall likewise say only a few words about the public debt. These important subjects have been treated upon by abler writers, and greater civilians. Every one at the present day is acquainted with the financial situation of England, and many of our periodical papers mention it with sufficient exactness. I do not, moreover, pretend to have fathomed the administration and resour-

ces of England; I have observed this kingdom as well as I was able, in all its parts; but the observations I have made are plain, and I have ranged them in chapters, to show clearly what I have seen, and how I have seen it.

The *interest* alone of the public debt amounted in 1814, to twelve hundred millions of our francs. It continues to increase from year to year, by reason of the new loans which are continually made, besides the interest which is only paid by being funded every year.

The system of *Sinking Funds* is a mere mockery at the present day, in the strictest sense of the word. These funds, destined to extinguish the debt in a given time, have been violated, and sometimes dissipated; the last time this happened, was in 1813. In recommencing the sinking fund, that is, the reservation and separation of a part of the annual revenue to be applied in paying the capital of the public debt, it would require *one hundred and eighty years* to form a capital sufficient to pay the debt *as it now is*, supposing it not to be augmented, and continuing always to pay the interest of it.

The ordinary expenses of the state are about a thousand millions of our francs; the interest of the public debt, is twelve hundred millions of francs. The sum total of the demands for the public service, is consequently about two thousand two hundred millions of francs, per annum.

The taxes may well be immense; they never are sufficient to pay even the ordinary expenses of the government, and a loan is obliged to be added to them annually, in order to meet the expenses, and pay the interest. Will the English sink under this prodigious load? No, if Europe, constantly blind to her interest, continues to be directed by the counsels of this nation, which alone possesses what constitutes real strength and real wealth, a good public spirit. This nation and

government are not known in Europe. They have lived and prospered for a century by the ignorance, the follies, and the errors of all the rest.

Can the English continue to prosper, at least in appearance, under the state of things existing in England? Yes, so long as they preserve that wealth, that strength, which only exists and is formed amongst them, I repeat it, their excellent public spirit; and so long as the powers of Europe persist in their blind submission to the will of the English Cabinet.

The ministers open a loan, to support the credit; it becomes necessary to stir up enemies against France; the loan is instantly filled. The Three Kingdoms might be sold ten times, and the produce would not pay the debt. The bank paper, multiplied beyond measure, has no longer any guarantee; but say this to an Englishman, and his answer is, "Who ever thinks of paying our debt? if *we* find our bank paper sufficiently guaranteed, how does it concern *you*? It is our business." This is what an Englishman coolly tells you, and there makes his stand.

When gold was selling at thirty per cent. in 1812 and 1813, the members of both Houses of Parliament said the paper was not sinking, and the practice corresponded with the theory. The paper was not refused by any one, except a few individuals, and in a few cases which were fully exposed to public animadversion.

No store raised its prices, only if you wished to pay in gold, they would deduct you the advance on that *merchandise*, (the gold which had varied) but this was no diminution from the value of the other.

I have seen every where what I say here. At that time I might have obtained the whole shop; I might have purchased with paper, every shop in England, without any variation in the prices, compared with the preceding

years. When I wished to reason upon the loss of the paper, the *parliamentary discussion* was immediately the answer. I remained confounded, and I called to mind how our *assignats* were discredited and destroyed.

O my country ! if thy good, thy generous inhabitants, superior in so many respects to the nations of Europe, if the French could have a portion of that *Public Spirit* which so eminently distinguishes England—France ! thou wouldst not only be superior to all nations in the courage of thine armies, but the force of thy genius would subjugate them all, and they would become tributary to thy industry. But *Public Spirit* ! that grain of faith of the Gospel, which moves mountains, that grain of faith is wanting. We have sown it every year for a century, and every year for a century, parasitical plants have choked it. Let us not be disheartened ; let us sow, and re-sow still, perhaps it will grow at last.

CHAP. XIV.

Beneficence—Philanthropic Institutions.

THERE is no country on earth where philanthropic establishments, and houses of benevolence are so numerous as in England. There is no petty parish without its charity school, its workhouse, destined to receive the lazy, the orphan children, and the old men, and its almshouse, small private buildings, in which are lodged gratuitously, and where assistance in money and victuals is received by old men, whether widowers or married, whose success, during a long and laborious career, has not answered to the activity they have displayed.

The natural consequence an unobserving Frenchman would deduce from this abundance of benevolent insti-

tutions, must be, that the English character is naturally humane and generous, and yet it is directly the reverse of these two noble qualities. The heart of an Englishman is in his head; every thing in that country is done by calculation, and through vanity; never good for the love of good.

The necessity of creating clients when the government was more popular, and of obtaining suffrages at the time of elections, induces the leading families of the counties to found establishments which may bring their names often into notice among the people. Marbles placed over the principal entrance of each of these establishments, large tablets suspended in the most conspicuous part of the church, written nearly in the style of the pompous inscription to be seen at Paris, over one of the halls of the Hotel-Dieu, and which informs the passengers that the proud Pomponne, who never perhaps in his life suffered any privation, to assist the unfortunate, after his death, has by his will sacrificed the rich brocades of his drawing rooms to be converted into useful furniture for the poor; these tablets, I say, inform the readers in England, that such an establishment is the work of such a family. This example is imitated throughout the country, and this vanity, which originated in a desire to serve themselves, has gained all classes, and has terminated in the formation of a considerable number of charity houses. But he whose name figures on the marble which covers his tomb, and in the tablet suspended in the parish church, as one of its benefactors, has, during his life, suffered the beings most dear to him to perish with misery.*

* I am far from finding fault with the act, but only with the motive which caused it. Upon the whole, however, I had rather read upon the tomb of the deceased, that he has left a sum for the foundation of such an institution, than to learn by his epitaph that he has forever provided for a certain number of masses, which are stronger signs of the influence of priests, and the fear of the devil, than of the love of God and man.

A hair dresser who had made a sort of fortune at Bishop's Waltham, where I have resided, never was willing to give fifty pounds sterling to the work house, that they might receive into it his father, an infirm old man, whom he suffered to beg. The overseers of the parish exacted this sum on account of the wealth of the son. The unfortunate old man died somehow or another, in the street, during a severe winter. His son only survived him a short time. A monument, erected in the cemetery, now informs the passenger that this man, dubbed an esquire, left at his death two hundred pounds sterling for the poor. In twenty years the memory of the esquire will be an object of veneration to the readers of the epitaph, and the infamous conduct of the hair dresser will have been forgotten. It is thus the English calculate.

An aged female, lone and without a family, is recommended to the charity of a rich man; but as assisting her cannot produce any effect to gratify his vanity, she dies abandoned. An old servant has spent his life in the service of one master, but now become useless, dies, if they condescend to suffer it, in a garret of the house, without any one, not even his comrades, deigning to notice it.

But let an accident happen in a public street in a great town at noonday, a fire perhaps which has made some noise, and has been accompanied with some extraordinary circumstances, such as the ruin of a family of note; it is in such cases that vanity displays all its treasures. All the public papers give information, that esquire such-a-one, and lord such-a-one, came with the utmost eagerness to relieve personally the unfortunate person who had been injured by a carriage; that his lordship condescended to visit him at his lodgings, to furnish him abundant aid, and to watch, with the same generosity, the progress of the injury, until it was per-

fectly healed. In fine, in the case of the fire, that a subscription, headed by lords and ladies so and so, &c. &c. the list of whom is scrupulously detailed, has set them a going again.

Subscriptions are the most common method of giving assistance in England; I confess that the amount is much greater when it is the product of sixty or a hundred purses which are laid under contribution, than in a country where modest beneficence steals, in some degree privately, to the bed of sickness, insinuates itself secretly into the midst of a suffering family, to take care of it, and administer consolation; but I declare, that if any great misfortune should happen to me, it is thus that I should like to be assisted; the other way, done entirely to gratify the pride of the giver, would hurt my feelings.

Good and generous Frenchmen! it is necessary to have lived amongst foreigners, and particularly amongst this people, which calls itself our rival, but is only our enemy, to know how to value yourselves. It is you who know how benefits should be conferred, and how to enhance the most trifling circumstances attending their bestowment. If our journals, like the English papers, were in the habit of publishing every thing, and you would consent to reveal a part only of the good you do, all nations would be forced to confess that wealth may be every where else, as in England, insolently generous, but that you only know what is true beneficence.

Although our public charitable institutions may be generally less numerous than in England, yet all our cities, and the chief places in the departments present extensive institutions, whose management, although susceptible of improvement, is better understood than amongst our neighbours. Our foundling and lying-in hospitals have but few corresponding establishments, and those are only found in London.

Our hospitals, where they are not unusually incumbered, are better provided, the sick are more at ease, better nourished, better taken care of, as to attendance and medical aid, than the sick are in London. I have visited several hospitals in both countries, and lately, among others, the Hotel Dieu at Paris. I entered into the minutest details with different sisters and servant girls; and this hospital, which had formerly made me shrink with horror, at the time when I had seen the beds crowded into the halls, and several sick persons in the same bed, appeared so comfortable, that I should not have the least repugnance to being one of its patients. Each sick person has his bed, and the beds are sufficiently distant, the halls carefully ventilated, the linen clean; and if I had any observation to make, it would be perhaps concerning the food of those who are convalescent, which did not appear to me to be varied sufficiently. Worn down with fevers, their weak stomachs are inevitably disgusted with a diet either too solid or unpalatable and having too much sameness.

CHAP. XV.

Machiavelism of the English Ministers.

ENGLAND is a country in which crime and virtue have an account open in the ledger of every inhabitant; that which yields most of the article *profit* is most cultivated. In this respect the principles of the government do not differ from those of individuals.

The manufactories of England were entirely without business in 1811. The workmen were starving, bread had risen to an extravagant price, misery was general, and discontent universal. The ministry profited by this

situation abundantly to recruit their armies which were suffering immense losses in Spain. But a part of the men employed in the manufactories were not in a situation to bear arms ; there remained a multitude of married men, children, and aged persons, who threatened an approaching sedition in the great manufacturing towns. The ministry were beforehand with them. The places most to be feared, received assistance, while the counties of Lancashire, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, only obtained further provocations to insurrection. In these counties they manufactured stockings entirely by looms, and a small quantity of cotton cloths ; a great fermentation was excited there, and the *new looms* were made the pretext. They had been invented to save hands, but they diminished the number of workmen, and it was necessary to destroy them immediately. This is what was said by the emissaries of the ministry, who counted rightly upon the credulity of the people, for it was ridiculous to wish to give more hands to the manufactories, when they were unable to sell their goods and pay their workmen. Runners, sent by the ministers, pretending they were enlisted under the command of Captain *Ludd*, whence is derived the appellation of *Luddites*, went in small parties for the purpose of breaking the looms. Two considerable manufactories were set on fire, a chief manufacturing proprietor was assassinated, and several persons perished. The ministry made the show of taking measures to check the evil, and prevent any great disorders.

Regiments of cavalry were dispatched into these counties, gibbets were erected, some victims sacrificed, executed, or sentenced to transportation. Such measures, without any trouble, put a stop to seditions in which the people were only reluctantly induced to engage.

The failure of the continental system on the part of the northern powers, induced the hope of an immediate

opening for English merchandize. This expectation completely pacified the minds of the people in all the great manufacturing towns, and released the ministers from the trouble of recurring to new methods of force to keep down the people, although bread was selling at sixteen sous per pound. At the death of Percival the difficulties ceased.

Amongst the papers of this minister, some were found in a sealed bag, relating to the commotions in Lancashire. Mr. Whitbread demanded that they should be communicated. He observed, that from positive information he would declare to the house that it was his individual and firm belief that the ministers had been the promoters of those commotions. A committee was appointed, the papers were communicated, probably in secret, to Mr. Whitbread. From that time Mr. Whitbread was silent.

Things would have remained thus, and every one would have been convinced with Mr. Whitbread, that the ministers had been the instigators of the revolt, without having seen, as he did, the proofs. Every one would have kept silence, being almost persuaded the mischief had been done to save England from a greater evil, without examining too closely if it would not have been better to deliver the country from this plague which might devour it, and which had destroyed by assassination, and the hand of the executioner, the fathers of several families.

A Dr. Taylor of Bolton Moor, in Lancashire, a *dissenting* clergyman, that is to say, a priest who is not of the English Church, was accused of jacobinism by the ministerialists. He had exposed a part of their manœuvres, and prevented the mischief which they wished to perpetrate in his neighbourhood. His congregation had voted him thanks for the exertions he had made to

preserve the inhabitants from falling into the snares spread for them by those who were exciting the rebellion. Pushed to extremities by the attacks of his enemies, Dr. Taylor published in the papers of March, 1813, a long letter, in which he exposes and proves all the machinations of the promoters of the revolt; it is there shown that a manufactory, that of West Houghton, was destroyed at the instigation of the emissaries of government. They had excited and commanded the first collections of the people; they had furnished arms; they composed more than a quarter of the party which had burned the manufactory, and they were the leaders of the insurrection. They were recognized, but not until the moment of danger, when the military force approached, each of these agents having put upon his head a white cap, as the mark to distinguish them, and at this signal the military had permitted them to escape unmolested.

The developement of Dr. Taylor contains many facts chargeable to the ministers, amongst others, the accusation of their spies for having provoked the assassination of the chief manufacturer of West Houghton, and for having executed the murder themselves. The miserable wretches whom they had seduced, being forced by threats to accompany them to the spot, had refused to share in the infamous transaction. In fine, the Doctor's accusation against the ministers, whom he reproached for having brought to the scaffold not the true perpetrators of the murder, but simple spectators who had been seduced, against whom the seducers who had committed the assassination were admitted as informers and witnesses, concluded by this still stronger accusation, which he presented to the tribunal of public opinion: "*Yes, all these crimes were useless. Notwithstanding the misfortunes and suffering condition of the people, they would*

have remained tranquil ; and I prove it by the example of my parish, which, being situated in the midst of the commotion, has been preserved from it by my care."

The Attorney General has not taken the same stand in this affair as in that of *Finerty, versus Lord Castle-reagh*. In this case, the scene was acted in England. They are silent in execrating statesmen who think they can only govern by the commission of crimes.

Ashburn is in the vicinity of Nottinghamshire. The Luddites appeared desirous of approaching the gates of this little town, or rather the inhabitants appeared to be afraid of it. At this time the Transport Office had tried to procure my assassination by means of its agent. To destroy the interest which some persons appeared to take in my behalf, they did me the honour of publishing in a pamphlet which was circulated in Derbyshire, that I was one of the instigators, and had a commission from my government to that effect.

CHAP. XVI.

Liberty of the Press.

IF it be possible, say the English civilians, let the law of *Habeas Corpus*, which protects the subject from arbitrary imprisonment, be taken from us ; let the responsibility of the ministry be withdrawn ; let the Commons be denied the right of granting taxes, let the law, which each year declares the army disbanded, unless the Parliament continues it, be abrogated—but let the liberty of the press be respected, and every thing will be speedily regained. See what an idea the English have of the advantages of a free press.

In England, the liberty of the press is unlimited, and knows no restraint; but the responsibility also of the writers is terrible, as is that of the printer, if the author do not declare himself, and even the hawkers and distributors, if it is impossible to ascend any nearer the source.

Disgrace, by exposure in the pillory; imprisonment, sometimes for a great length of time; fines, whose sentence would in France far exceed the ability of moderate fortunes; the obligation of giving security in excessive sums for good behaviour, when the criminal is set at liberty, sums which must remain deposited whole years, and which are never returned untouched, because of the considerable costs of condemnation; in fine, personal bail, for which rich persons, and those of a good character only are received; these are the restraints and penalties which await seditious writers, who dare excite opposition to the laws of their country, and defamatory writers, who dare to attack the character of individuals.

The law of *libels* has nevertheless lately undergone a considerable change, and this not in favour of liberty. If this reform has an air or ground of justice, it is unfortunate that the English tribunals should not have thought to introduce it until a man of influence in the government was concerned.

Formerly, in England, the writer who exposed a great criminal, whom the laws had not dared to prosecute, or who had escaped their notice, was not considered a libeller, if he proved the crime, or the identity of the accused. The resolute writer was permitted to produce this proof, and was regarded as a man who had rendered a signal service to his country, if he gained the victory in this struggle of liberty and patriotism. In the contrary case, he justly suffered the punishment due to a calumniator. It has been no longer thus in England, since the ministry of Lord Castlereagh.

Lord Ellenborough has decided, and the Attorney General, the plaintiff, has concurred in deciding with the Lord Chief Justice, that a bold and veridical writer was an infamous libellant; that the facts, though they be true, ought not to be admitted as evidence; that there were but two methods of denouncing or prosecuting a distinguished criminal; either by the injured party's entering a complaint, or denouncing him to the public authority, which would decide, in its wisdom, whether the denunciation must or must not be prosecuted; or, in case the public authority is silent, it may be prosecuted.

See on what occasion this new jurisprudence has been introduced. Mr. Finerty, an Irishman, had in several speeches delivered in political assemblies, denounced Lord Castlereagh as guilty of high misdemeanours while he exercised important functions in Ireland, (those of Secretary General of that kingdom, before the union) functions which gave immense authority to the deputy of the royal, or ministerial power.

He formally accused Lord Castlereagh of having caused several villages of poor Roman Catholics to be set on fire by his orders, to induce these Irishmen to revolt; he accused him of having by written orders, commanded, with the same design, certain assassinations which were executed by Protestants; he accused him of having caused the execution of innocent persons, while he had proofs of their innocence, by corrupting the judges, and with a view to excite terror; in fine, the mass of accusations made against more than forty leaders, was so strong, that if Lord Castlereagh is guilty of the smallest part of them, he must be a monster, and one of those men who should have been smothered in his cradle, for the benefit of humanity.

At each head of accusation, which the magistrate represented to Mr. Finerty, as constituting a libel, his answer

was, *I affirm it my lord, and I offer to prove it.* His lordship answered in his turn ; “ *Your affirmation, and your offer of proof will not be admitted.*” This trial, of a description entirely novel in England, in regard to the manner pursued by the public authority, was terminated, as may well be supposed, by the condemnation of Mr. Finerty to a long imprisonment, and immense damages. It seems as if the motto of every government should be, *Oportet aliquem mori pro—— ministris.* But in England, public spirit pronounces a final judgment upon every thing ; it came to the aid of Mr. Finerty, to assist him in the latter part of his sentence.

The introduction of this new description of jurisprudence, was developed in this ministerial affair, in a *very learned* manner, by the address of the Attorney General ; it was resumed and consecrated with no less care, by the summary or statement made to the jury by the Lord Chief Justice.

If such an affair should take place between any other persons, there is no doubt the ancient law would take its course ; but in this, public opinion, while avenging Mr. Finerty by liberal subscriptions, sided with the judges through motives of policy, which this people always know how to apply with a justice peculiar to themselves.

CHAP. XVII.

Security of Persons and Property.

THERE is no country where the security of persons and property can be violated with so much facility, even according to the laws of the land, as in England. It may be said, without incurring the reproach of paradox or prejudice, that it is to the excess of evil, that the English

have owed some good laws, insufficient to eradicate the evil entirely, but calculated to correct it in part; such are the laws of Habeas Corpus, to prevent arbitrary imprisonments, and the law which empowers the judges to permit and receive bail in almost all cases of civil imprisonment, or in complaints, which in France are known by the name of *petit criminel*; such are, indeed, the sentences and damages pronounced for false imprisonment, which, I confess, make those more cautious who may wish to abuse the latitude of the law, to endanger the safety of a citizen, but which, nevertheless, permit the same injurious latitude to exist.

Every creditor, whatever may be the nature of his claim, makes oath before a judge, that the person whom he designates is his debtor, and that notwithstanding he has made the demand, he is unable to obtain payment. A *warrant* is allowed him, which permits him to take the body of the debtor. Formerly the body was liable to be taken for a debt of five shillings; but, according to an act of Parliament, they cannot now take it for a less sum than two guineas. An attempt has been made in some of the last sessions, to extend the law to five guineas, but the Parliament has not yet come to a conclusion.

The debtor, once imprisoned, can only be liberated by paying the debt, or rather the sum demanded, for he is not permitted to prove that he does not owe it. It is only when he is at liberty, and has paid the demand, and the consequent costs of imprisonment, that he can prosecute the pretended creditor for false imprisonment.

Whoever imprisons a citizen, his debtor, is not answerable for his support. The government allows the prisoner a penny (two french sous) per day, although the price of bread is never less than ten sous per pound of fourteen ounces, and is sometimes as high as fifteen or sixteen sous. The sum allowed has not varied since

the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Before he can obtain this penny, the prisoner must swear before the magistrate, who has the care of the prison, that he is not worth ten guineas. Several days pass before the prisoner is admitted to this oath, because the magistrate only visits the prison at stated periods. The oath once taken, the prisoner cannot touch his penny until he has paid the jailor or keeper of the prison, *his fees*, which amount to several guineas. To secure the payment, the jailor often retains the penny for his own benefit, which is in fact passing sentence of death, if the prisoner have no other resource. No prisoner can be released without having first discharged to the full, the fees of the jailor; and it is enough to have set foot in the prison, to entitle the jailor to them.

Let this part of the civil laws of England be compared with the sacred provisions of our codes, and let any one judge of the legislation of the two nations.

In a speech addressed to the House of Lords, May 2, 1814, on the civil liberty of English subjects, relative to a petition of redress for imprisonment brought about by refined chicanery, and in consequence of a ministerial intrigue against several persons, signers of a petition for the purpose of obtaining a parliamentary reform, Lord Stanhope proved to the house, that there was no government where personal liberty could be violated with so much facility, and with so much impunity, as in England; that he who presented a complaint, and made an unjust demand, was not obliged to give bail for *redress* in case of false imprisonment; that he against whom the complaint or demand was made, was obliged, on the contrary, to give bail, and that it could be admitted or rejected according to the caprice or ill nature of the judge. It would follow, from such a state of things, Lord Stanhope rightly observed, that if a villain wished to ruin a man, it was only necessary to enter a complaint, to cause him to be

imprisoned, and then depart for America, or some foreign country. As the liberation can only take place at the assizes, after the departure of the plaintiff is well attested, he not appearing to prosecute the unfortunate person against whom the complaint was made, the result would be, that a man might unjustly languish in prison several months without hope of redress, and that he could not even come out when his liberation should be declared, for want of ability to pay the jailor's fees, and the previous costs.

An individual pretends he is injured and abused, and makes oath before the justice, that the person of whom he complains is guilty of this crime. He usually produces two witnesses who swear with him, although these witnesses are not absolutely required by law. The judges, without any other forms, can pronounce the sentence of imprisonment upon the person complained of. The accused would in vain wish to defend himself by proving the charge to be false; he must be tried at the next assizes on the charge entered against him, before he can become a plaintiff, that is to say, six months, or a year from that time, until which period he must remain in prison. He who first enters his complaint, who first makes oath that his adversary is the aggressor, is always considered in the right, by the magistrate who administers it. The judges make a final decision at the assizes, and it is only before them, that the man against whom a false charge has been preferred, has a right to expect justice.

The French prisoners of war were the only exceptions, during the war which followed the ruption of the treaty of Amiens, to this benefit of the law. The following anecdote, whose authenticity cannot be contested, is a proof of it. It is not the hundredth injustice of the same description committed against them, which I have wit-

nessed. M. De Massey,* a midshipman, and a prisoner on parole at Tiverton, was stopped one evening by a blacksmith under pretence of his carrying a cane; he was severely wounded, and robbed of his gold watch. Seeing that the robbery was discovered, and several people collecting around him, the blacksmith drew the watch from his pocket, threw it on the pavement, and broke it. Unfortunately the time for retiring arrived. M. de Massey could not make a complaint that evening, his adversary was beforehand with him and entered a complaint. The next day, M. de Massey was arrested, as he was going to demand justice, and sentenced to give excessive bail for his appearance at the next county Assizes, to avoid remaining in prison.

The affair remained undecided until the time of the Assizes; then, upon a plain statement of the facts, the magistrates only severely reprimanded the blacksmith, although they acknowledged him guilty of assault and perjury. They did not permit M. de Massey to prosecute in his turn, observing that "It was full enough for a subject of Great Britain to be reprimanded on account of a Frenchman." The recourse to the laws, and the course of justice were violated and inverted, and have always been so when a Frenchman has been concerned.

Besides, the prisons can never receive an individual, unless he be brought there by a constable by virtue of a warrant granted by the justice. Every person arrested, even a *la clameur publique*, must be conducted before the justice, who delivers or refuses the warrant. French prisoners of war only have enjoyed the privilege of being excepted from the benefits of this law.

Messieurs Laborde and Pezenas, French navy officers, prisoners at Tiverton, had the misfortune to displease a Mr. Walker, an English marine officer, with

*M. De Massey is now in the body guard of the King.

whom they had had a dispute in the house of a third person. This man pointed them out some days after in a collection of people, as enemies particularly dangerous to England. Having collected a certain number of persons in a riotous body, of which he made himself the leader, he went at their head to attack Messieurs Laborde and Pezenas at their lodgings; he dragged them himself to prison, where they passed about twenty-four hours; the magistrate set them at liberty, but, as their imprisonment was of the description called in England *a breach of the King's peace*, and afforded grounds for damages, Messieurs Laborde and Pezenas asked leave to enter a complaint. They laughed in their face. And as their only answer, they observed to them, that they were at liberty to remain in prison if it agreed with them, but that as to the complaint which they wished to make, their own good required that it should not be received, because it would infallibly cause them to be assassinated. They fully perceived the correctness of this observation, and concluded that they could not do better than to come out of the prison into which they had been thrown, and hold their peace.

In detailing the remedies of the law, or the means of redress against the facility with which the safety of persons is violated in England, I have been naturally led to say, that such means were always denied to French prisoners. I have cited two instances; I could cite a thousand, and produce incontestible proofs. In the course of this work the same things will be seen to reappear under every form, and my countrymen will be able to judge what have been the sufferings, in *that island of liberty and law*, of more than one hundred and thirty thousand French prisoners of war, half of whom have there died through wretchedness and ill treatment.

CHAP. XVIII.

Assizes—Criminal Trials.

EACH county, twice a year, in the months of March and August, has its trials by *Assizes*. They are holden in the shire town. No troops or armed force can reside in the place of the *Assizes* during their continuance. They commonly last three days, and never more than five. All civil affairs within their jurisdiction are there dispatched, and all criminal affairs, which by the nature of the crimes, may incur the sentence of corporal punishment or imprisonment.

The *Assizes* are holden by three judges, the Lord Chief Justice being included. These judges are taken from the King's Bench, and deputed by special commission of the King. The commissions or deputations pass through all the counties, following the order of the plan determined amongst themselves. The business has all been prepared beforehand. In this manner all the counties in England have annually had their *Assizes* twice, and all criminals have been tried.

When a person accused of a crime has been brought before the magistrate, whether by *flagrante delicto*, or by virtue of a warrant, and in consequence of a complaint, the accused is interrogated, and his answers taken in writing. The witnesses and the plaintiff are heard upon oath, and their answers are also written. If the crime be not proved, or if the accused is not proved guilty of it, he is liberated. If it be only a petty offence or a civil affair, he is obliged to give bail. In default of this, he is committed to prison to answer to a civil action for damages at the *Assizes*, where the case will be tried.

When the crime is proved, the magistrate delivers over the accused, and sends him from the place where he

has been arrested, to the prison of the shire town, by virtue of a warrant explaining the causes of the arrest, to be tried at the Assizes.

The sheriff of the county assembles the Grand Jury. A jury is so called, whose members, taken from among the most respectable persons in the district, are in number twenty-four, and cannot be less than twelve. After the challenge of those persons whom the accused has a right to reject, those of the twenty-four jurymen who have not been challenged, examine the accusation and the depositions of the witnesses, and decide whether an action is to be brought against the accused. If they think there are no grounds for bringing an action, the accused is dismissed, and set at liberty. This is in some measure an informal procedure, and is conducted without the presence of the accused; he does not interfere except in regard to the list of the jury presented him, on which he points out those challenged or excepted against.

At the opening of the Assizes the prisoner is brought to the bar, and the witnesses are called. A jury composed of twelve citizens, taken from the common class, but who must possess an income of at least ten pounds sterling, is formed and present. This is called the *petit jury*; it is in reality the jury of peers. The prisoner is asked how he wishes to be tried; he answers, *by God, and the laws of my country*. The list of jurymen is read to him; he can challenge most of them, and if the reasons are good, those challenged are set aside.

The trial then commences; the accusations and depositions are read in presence of the witnesses. The accused, or his attorney, produces his arguments to weaken their force, or invalidate them. If he asks leave to produce other witnesses in his behalf, and this demand be admitted, the accused is referred to the next Assizes; if rejected, he is ordered to make his plea. The defendant,

the crime being fully proved, generally pleads guilty ; he implores the mercy of court by improving every circumstance which tends to palliate the crime ; he sometimes pleads not guilty, but rarely in laying open the grounds of defence. The Attorney General then speaks as his conscience dictates, and when he ceases, the presiding judge resumes the affair, to enlighten the jury. The jury then withdraw, form an opinion, and deliver it before the judges. This opinion of the jury is the *verdict*, and accordingly as this verdict is favorable, or otherwise, the accused is dismissed, or declared guilty.

While empannelled and deliberating, the jury can neither eat nor drink. To pronounce the verdict of *guilty*, the opinion of the jury must be unanimous. Sometimes two hundred criminal cases, and never less than a hundred, are tried in two or three days. The rest of the time devoted to the session of the Assizes is employed in civil affairs.

This quick despatch of criminal cases would lead any one to suppose the judgment too precipitate. This, however, is not the case. This precipitation is only in appearance. So far from being injurious to the correctness of justice, its course is assisted by it. The action has been completely prepared beforehand by the first magistrate and the sheriff, who have examined and matured it in the silence of the closet. These magistrates are never carried away by prejudice and the passions, which, elsewhere, the accusation of a horrible crime naturally inspires, because crimes of this nature are continually committed, and pass every day under their inspection.

The latter part of our criminal process is much more prolonged. Our magistrates do not sufficiently understand the spirit in which the ancient process was abrogated, and the jury established. The English magistrate says but little to the accused, and then only to put

him on his guard against himself, so that he may not become his own accuser. It is the innocent, and not the guilty, which is sought for by the tribunal. The French magistrate speaks too much to him, and by the insidious questions with which he overwhelms the accused, the spectators see only an enemy who wishes to find the innocent guilty. This multitude of questions, these long sessions, are a kind of moral torture unworthy the character of a judge. They are the beginning of punishment, and the part reserved for the executioner is not always the most painful.

A distinguished foreigner well versed in criminal matters, observed to me, "I have attended one of your most celebrated trials, and while admiring the acuteness of mind of the judge who directed it, I was shocked with indignation, every moment to see with what pains he sought for a criminal every time he addressed the accused. Without doubt, you will in time reform this barbarous custom. The judge should have but one moment of severity, and at the same time impartiality, and that is, when, after the pleas of the defendant and Attorney General, he, in his turn, lays open the whole affair to the jury, for their proper direction."

When the accused is before court, the whole process is to be gone through, and the opinion of the judge formed. Why torture the accused?

As soon as the jury have pronounced the verdict of *guilty*, the condemned is remanded to prison: and when all the accused have been tried, those who have not been acquitted are chained together, and reconducted in a body, before the tribunal. The judge then pronounces sentence upon each of them, using the words of the law, in these terms. *John Grey*, (calling him by his name,) *you are sentenced to be hanged by your neck till you be dead, dead, dead.*

This ceremony being over, the condemned are again carried back to prison, and are all put, chained as they are, in the same place, where they remain in irons until the Chief Jailor, or Marshal of the prison receives a list of all the condemned to whom the Princee has granted a reprieve. The object of this reprieve is to commute the punishment of death into transportation.

Not more than five or six are executed, out of a hundred condemned, and these are such as are guilty of enormous crimes, attended with aggravated circumstances, such as poisoning, parricide, repeated assassinations, &c. All the rest are transported.

The English nation being essentially commercial, the crime of forgery receives no mercy.

I must here make an important observation, which appertains to public morality, when great crimes are under consideration, especially of the nature of those just pointed out. The more atrocious the crime, the more sure is the criminal of not being executed. In England, there is formed in this respect a sort of new jurisprudence, which belongs perhaps to national pride, but whose principle does not appear to be entirely destitute of wisdom and reason. Since the attempt to assassinate George III. by a woman named Nicholson, all those guilty of atrocious crimes, are pronounced lunatics or idiots. From the first stages of the procedure, human nature, if I may so say, is veiled in its most monstrous horrors. The guilty are confined for life, and disappear forever. As their treatment is not that of ordinary maniacs, it is probable that these great criminals gain nothing by it, and perhaps death would be more preferable to them; but national pride and public decorum are regarded.

I will allow myself one more observation. It is generally supposed in Europe that the punishment of a criminal in England does not entail infamy upon his family,

and that the infamy does not affect the honour of its members, but this belief is erroneous. There is no country where the law is more cruel towards the family of one condemned, than it is in England. A law, known by the title of *Corruption of Blood*, renders a relation of the condemned, in whatever degree he may be related, incapable of holding any place or employment; and consequently declares him infamous. Sir Samuel Romilly, for several sessions, has demanded the repeal of this unjust, impolitick, and above all, ridiculous law, since it cannot be carried into execution. There is not a family in England in whose blood the executioner has not stained his hands; even the most distinguished families are in the same predicament, at least in consequence of rebellion, during the three last centuries.

CHAP. XIX.

Sanctity of Oaths.

THERE is no country on the globe where oaths are oftener taken, or more frequently required than in England. You cannot appear in any cause before a magistrate, whether in a civil or criminal matter, without his requiring an oath. A debt cannot be recovered, nor a writ obtained against a debtor, without swearing before a justice that the debt is lawful. No account of public agency can be settled without the administrator's swearing that his account is just, and that all the articles of consumption or collection are exact.

From this custom of administering and taking an oath before a judge in all the actions of life, even the most unimportant, it follows that there is no country in the world where false oaths are more common than in En-

gland. Persons of the highest dignity, who ought to discover the most inflexibility in their principles, and in their morality, do not blush at perjury, but sometimes make a sport of it.

Lord Ellenborough, the Chief Justice, is by law the guardian of his son. Every year he receives for his ward the emoluments arising from the office of Chief Jailor, or Marshal of the Fleet prison in London, of which this child is the nominal incumbent. The emoluments amount to the sum of five thousand pounds sterling, and the place is filled by an ancient household servant of Lord Ellenborough, to whom five hundred pounds sterling are allowed, in addition to the perquisites which he divides with the turnkeys.

To fill this office, this man has been obliged to make oath before Lord Ellenborough himself, that he is really the true, chief titular incumbent of the office, that he does not hold it in the name, or for the benefit of any body whatever, and that he does not share the emoluments with any person. Thus this man acts under the solemnity of an oath, which the magistrate who receives it, knows not only to be false, but of which he himself receives the emoluments, and by which he is an accomplice in falsehood with one of his servants. Similar actions are found in almost all the concerns of this mercantile people. This curious reproach was brought against Lord Ellenborough, by the opposition, in 1812, and has remained unanswered.

An ancient statute requires, that to prosecute a civil action, the plaintiff must furnish as bail, two responsible citizens, heads of families, in order to guarantee to the defendant, in case the demand brought against him should be without foundation, the expenses which he may have incurred. The spirit and intent of the statute are perfectly wise, and yet it affords room for a ridiculous

practice. Two unmeaning names of nobody knows whom, are introduced in court, and these names are never changed; *John Doe, and Richard Roe*, are always offered; they make oath that they are heads of families and responsible; the person offering them, takes the same oath. This legal formality causes expense, because the opposite party never fails to object to their responsibility; and in fine, as the whole of this sort of process is fictitious, except the oath, which is a very evident falsity, their bail is always finally admitted.

I have been witness and victim, while a prisoner of war, of a false oath made by the physician of Norman Cross; falsities which all the physicians of the prisoners are in the habit of committing. They are furnished with medicines, flannels, pieces of cotton cloth, &c. in proportion to the number of prisoners, for compresses, frictions, &c. When these medicines and the cloths are supposed to be used up, the physician, to procure new ones, draws up his account of their application, and swears before a magistrate that the account is correct. The wife of the Norman Cross physician, and that of the physician of the hulk *Crown-Prince*, in Chatham roads, wore no other petticoats than those made of the cotton and flannel destined for the sick. As to the medicines, the contractor finding the chests full, had no need of filling them, and he divided with the apothecary and the physician, the profits on the price of the drugs, which he never delivered. I well know that such abuses take place in many other countries, but at least without the addition of perjury, as it is practised in England.

I have promised not to bring any important accusation, without supporting it by examples. The Chief Justice himself furnished me with the first, of perjury. I now cite another furnished by a man of no less distinguished rank, more noble by birth, and as much esteemed for his moral character as Lord Ellenborough.

Lord Moira, of one of the first families in England, that of Derby, and a descendant of the royal house of Plantagenet, considered for a long time as the wise friend and faultless counsellor of a prince, whose honor he had more than once saved at the expense of his own fortune, was specially appointed by the King, to make a scrupulous inquiry into the affair which concerned the throne, and might render the legitimacy of the heiress to it, doubtful. This inquiry was made about the first of March, 1806. Four witnesses were heard by Lord Moira; the first was Lady Douglas, who only knew the Princess of Wales as a protectress, by whom she had been sometimes graciously received; the second was one Fanny Lloyd, a washer woman, who had never been near the princess. Each of their depositions were the most conclusive that could be written, as it respected the pregnancy and accouchement.

Two other witnesses, a Mr. Mills, and a Mr. Eadmeads, both intimate and confidential servants, who had never lost sight of the Princess, deposed entirely in her favour; and when Lord Moira laid this inquiry before the King, he had the dishonesty to withhold the two depositions of acquittal, and to assure the King, who had confided in him, that he had received no other light upon the subject. This infamous transaction is the true cause of all which has since been done. Had it not been for the perjury of Lord Moira, the King would no further have pursued an affair which was the disgrace of his family: and the inquiry made by the ministers, the 29th of May following, would not have taken place.

The animadversion and contempt, which the knowledge of his conduct brought upon Lord Moira, have been universal, because the national pride has been wounded by it, and to shelter him from it, the prince, his friend, has sent him to bury his shame in the government of

India, a post which makes him subordinate to a company of merchants, and which is far beneath his rank and birth. Departing with precipitation, three persons only have consented to accompany him ; his presence, say the public prints, which generally excited their acclamations, has produced on this occasion, at Portsmouth, only insults and hootings from the people.

As to the rest, what I have been able to remark in this country, where I have seen thousands of false oaths taken, is, that the common people, especially, take no little pains to word their oaths in such a manner that they may receive a double interpretation.

The justices, when they wish the witnesses to lie, and the affair not to have a legal examination, do not fail to observe to them, that they are not examining them under oath, and then the depositions are only a series of gross deceptions ; and when they are reproached with it, even in presence of the justice, this is always the answer : “ *The Justice did not examine me under oath sir!*” and the sang froid of the justice, who hears this answer, is not at all disturbed.

Every verbal process which the French government has received to justify the massacre of *French* prisoners, has been drawn up in no other manner. In the presence of a hundred Frenchmen, I accused of this sort of perjury peculiar to England, a sergeant of marines named Gaitre, a witness, who was heard in the verbal processes relating to the massacre of the French prisoners on board the hulk Samson, at Chatham, May 31, 1811 ; he answered me, “ *The commissioners did not examine me under oath ; I saw they did not wish to know the truth. And if I had told it, he added, they would have confined me in prison ; I should have been shipped off on a cruise, and should never perhaps have seen land again.*”

Of all the monks who planted themselves in England, during the ages of fanaticism, the Jesuits alone were never able to take root. It is true they arrived there at the time when the monastic orders were abolished, but it is also true that the public sentiment continually inveighed against this order, more particularly than against any other, and the people never ceased to pour out their hatred upon it. When the national character of the English is examined, one is induced to believe that the Jesuits were so generally hated there, because the rivalry was too powerful and too dangerous to be endured by the natives.

CHAP. XX.

Crimes.

"I CANNOT tell whether it is from the number of our penal laws, or the licentiousness of our people, that this country should show more convicts in a year than half the dominions of Europe united." (Vide Vicar of Wakefield, Vol. II. Chap. 10.)

I confess with the English author, that there are more crimes committed in England than any where else, but I differ from him in opinion as to the number and proportion he establishes.

Far from exceeding, I think I shall fall short of the truth in asserting, that more crimes are committed in England in six months, than are committed in all Europe in six years, making no account of the murders committed on the highways, which are infested with robbers. No traveller is secure on these roads, although they are more frequented than in any other country on the globe.

The English public papers every day contain at least two or three articles devoted to the relation of some barbarous action, or the particulars of an enormous crime which has taken place in the bosom of families, and which has been committed by persons, whom the ties of consanguinity, or social relations, should have inclined to cherish and respect each other.

One day it is a father who has poisoned or cut the throat of his whole family ; the next, a husband has murdered or smothered in bed his wife, when she was about to give life to a new pledge of their union, which he has hurried with her to the grave. Here, children have struck and killed by violence the authors of their being, there, lovers have stabbed their *sweethearts*, to hide from the public the knowledge of their licentiousness, or to get rid of the cares of paternity ; and they have carried their brutality so far as to seize the spoils of their victims, leaving them naked on the spot. Brothers have murdered brothers to obtain possession of a common inheritance ; step-mothers by the steel, poison, or hunger, have shortened the days of the unfortunate offspring of a former marriage ; in fine, fathers and mothers have destroyed their own children, the fruit of a marriage which death had dissolved, because they were an obstacle to the project of a new connexion. These crimes are not confined to the capital ; they abound in counties the most distant from London ; and are almost always attended with aggravated circumstances, dreadful peculiarities of reflection and calculation, which show the propensity of the English nation to cool and systematic cruelty.

Notwithstanding all this, the whole of Europe, carried away by a sort of illusion, resounds with the praises lavished upon the English nation. An opinion has been formed of the nation from a few hypocritical travellers,

deeply versed in their hypocrisy, who have had the art to appear under an outside so much the more ensnaring to the multitude, as they affected some defects and much originality, the better to disguise their sentiments and views. Even at the present day they persist in holding up the English nation as a model for imitation in manners and *exemption* from every thing like prejudice. Her literary productions are even placed above those of the most enlightened nations, especially her dramatic compositions. The English novels and works of imagination fill us with enthusiasm, because the dramatic works and novels of that nation, mutilated by our translators, who are too chaste faithfully to give us all the scenes and characters, have only appeared to us in a French garb.

We venture to compare the most immoral of our novels with those of the English which are most esteemed. The hero of the *Liaisons Dangereuses* is a heedless character, accustomed to live in bad company, and bad places; the hero of *Clarissa Harlowe*, *Lovelace*, is a profound villain, who always plans and executes crimes with perfect coolness. We are continually told of British humanity, generosity, and sensibility, in spite of the history of this people, their theatrical pieces, and their numberless writings, in every page, in every scene, in every chapter of which may be seen a skill in corruption, a refinement in the manner of perpetrating crime, of which the painter could never have conceived an idea if the model had not been before his eyes. The character of *Lovelace* could only have been drawn by an Englishman.

In the Flemish school we do not see those clear and ardent skies which we admire in the Italian school, and the latter has not those bacchanalian scenes, and smiling landscapes, with which the former abounds. The reason

is simple and natural. The skilful artist designs and paints nature as he constantly sees it, as he is in the habit of observing and feeling it. Moral nature is hideous in England, and thus the great English writers, the authors of that nation, who have acquired and merited the reputation of being acquainted with the human heart, and all the depravity of which it is susceptible, have only had to trace the scenes of horror and blood which they have witnessed. The history of England itself seems to be the history of hangmen.

A book printed to assist the meditations of criminals in prison, commences one of its exhortations with this remarkable phrase: "The astonishing number of criminals is shocking to an indescribable degree. It is not easy to determine to what cause the surprising increase of late years is to be attributed. One thing is evident; which is, that it proves that we are greatly deficient in religious principles, and must convince us that whatever figure we may make abroad, as a warlike and mercantile nation, we are certainly an extremely dissolute people."

The list of accused criminals, murderers, and thieves, in the city of London alone, in 1812, and who have been tried in the course of that year, amounts to one thousand six hundred and sixty-three, of whom one thousand one hundred and twenty-one were men, and five hundred and forty-two, women. Of this number nine hundred and ninety-eight have been convicted, and sentenced to corporal and ignominious punishment, or to death. In the same year, two hundred and forty-six individuals, accused of murder, have been tried in the county of Kent; ninety-seven have been convicted, and sentenced to corporal or ignominious punishment, and forty-four have been condemned to suffer death.

I have before me the catalogue of the Assizes of this county for the month of August, 1813. Each county, as I

have observed above, has annually two Assizes, one in March, and the other in August. This catalogue contains eighty names. It commences with the name of one Stephen Jordan who has murdered his wife, and ends with that of a man accused of having murdered his master and mistress with a crowbar while they were asleep in their beds. Some persons accused of bestiality, of poisoning, of parricide, infanticide, and fratricide, are on this list.

England is divided into fifty-two counties. In each, at their Assizes, forty or fifty criminals at least are condemned; four times the number are acquitted, because the crime does not appear to be sufficiently proved upon *them*, although the crime itself, of which they are accused, may be sufficiently proved, and the men really guilty.

In Ireland, four thousand are annually tried, and in Scotland one thousand. Thus the sum of persons accused of crimes, and annually tried in the Three Kingdoms, including the city of London, amounts to fifteen thousand, on even a moderate calculation. The population of the Three Kingdoms, at the highest estimation, cannot exceed fourteen millions of persons; the duration of a generation may be reckoned at fifty years, although generally speaking, this duration should not be reckoned at more than forty-four or forty-five years. The result is, that in the course of one generation, or in the space of fifty years, seven hundred and fifty thousand accused persons have been brought before the criminal tribunals of the Three Kingdoms, that is, more than one nineteenth of the whole population. Consequently, in this country, so renowned for its probity and correct morals, in every twenty persons, no matter of what age, there must be at least one who is liable to be taken by justice for the commission of some crime.

I do not fear to support the conclusions which I have

thus briefly stated. There is no English writer, magistrate, nor jurist, who can dispute their correctness, and prove an opinion contrary to that I have advanced. These are facts publicly and legally established, and registered in their criminal records. An Englishman may deny them, but a thousand observers will give him the lie.

Objects of minor accusation, are not included in the above calculation. I class also, after less important accusations, those where the plaintiff desert before the trial; those where the crime is hushed, and this number is greatest when the family of the criminal enjoys some respectability, or when the injured party is indemnified; in fine, those which concern men from sixteen to forty years, who are enlisted in the prisons for the sea and land armies, which fills these armies with depraved wretches, who are a real scourge to the country where they are stationed. Notwithstanding the rigid discipline to which the English soldier is subjected, there is no country which has not had a lamentable experience of the depravity, and marauding spirit of the English armies.

The vengeance taken upon the soldiers of General Moore, the orders of the day of General Wellington, the courts martial frequently held on the officers, prove what I assert. These orders of the day, and courts martial, have even excited murmurs in England, because, said some periodical prints which disapproved of them, these public documents are so many blots on the national character, and they teach Europe of what terrible plunderers, in every rank, the English army is composed. Spain and Portugal have experienced it in a barbarous manner.

As an elucidation of this, I intended to devote some chapters to a more particular account of the crimes with

which England is loaded; I shall support them by facts drawn from their public records, only within the short space of one or two years. I have lain it down as a principle, that England is that country where the worst crimes are committed; that, where crimes are of the most atrocious nature, and that, where the circumstances attendant upon crime, are the most shocking; I must prove this, however painful such a task may be to an honourable mind.

CHAP. XXI.

Married Women—Murder of Women by their Husbands, common in England, and often unpunished.

A MARRIED woman is only considered in England as belonging to the second species in the creation. The maxim is sacred, and that portion of society does not even protest against it; every thing, and every moment puts them in mind of it. The solemn words of marriage, pronounced by the priest according to the ritual, command the woman, and with much rigour, to submit to, and obey her husband, while he receives only a simple admonition, to treat with kindness the creature which God has subjected to him, as Sarah was subject to Abraham. In this admonition, the wife is always wronged; she only enjoys the rank of first servant in the family, where she has the honour of sharing the bed and table of the master; and he does not even admit her to his table, but under certain restrictions. A wife, says an English proverb, should not seat herself at table, until the servants bring in the last dish, and she should withdraw with the first glass of wine.

No sort of confidence is established or kept up between man and wife. She receives, as if like a steward she were only intrusted with the expenses of housekeeping, the sum of money necessary to meet them, according to the rank her husband wishes to support in the world. She is completely ignorant of the situation of his affairs, he never imparts it to her, nor converses with her upon the subject; and a husband is often reduced to the last extremity before his wife suspects that his fortune has suffered the least diminution. *My master*, is the common appellation, by which a wife designates her husband. *My good friend* is a term which in England never survives marriage. This *master*, and he is so, in the full import of the term, from the families of the lowest people to those of the lords, uses his right with a brutality which shocks us, and to which we Frenchmen become so much the less accustomed, as the poor slave presents to all appearance an air of satisfaction, and bears her condition and humiliations with a sang froid and patience at which we cannot but wonder.

If, amongst the lower sort, the mother of a family, the wife, is industrious, her gains only increase the stock of her husband; in the same manner as those of a slave go to his owner. I have said there is but little industry amongst the wives of the people; the reason of it is plain. Every wife entertains the opinion that her husband is a master, whom she ought carefully and submissively to serve, but she also believes that this master, in his turn, is obliged to provide for her support. He holds the purse strings, and gives as little as possible, and the additional ease which he derives from the industry of his wife, is appropriated to the increase of his own idleness, and to furnish the means of intoxication. This is the reason why in England amongst the great body of the people we do not see that industry so common in France amongst females of the same class. The English wives,

like those of the Jews, prattle, nurse, and walk with their children, wash the house, and seldom have a needle in their hands.

The degradation of the individuals of this second class in creation, to make use of the agreeable English phrase, has arrived to such a pitch, that the murder of a married woman by her husband, is an affair of which the tribunals seldom take cognizance, except it be to clear the husband, when the circumstances have been so atrocious, that it has been impossible to conceal them from the public. If the ill treatment has not been followed by death, they do not take the least notice of it; it is *a husband who has beaten his wife!* I may be thought to exaggerate, when I say that from the month of December, 1807, to the month of June, 1813, one hundred and seventy-one murders of women by their husbands, have been counted in the public papers. These are facts as common, as they are easy to be proved. The hundred and seventy murders are proved, and related in the journals of the Capital; all have been followed by death; yet of these hundred and seventy one assassinations, the punishment of a single criminal cannot be produced. It is impossible to find the average number of murders, which remain unknown, because they have not been followed by immediate death, although they may have caused it; but this sort of crime must amount, one year with another, at least to several thousands. These considerations, or rather these results, account for the immense consumption of females which takes place in England. There are few men fifty years of age, who have not been married three times; it is true that it is the husband who in his turn finally leaves a widow.

I have had the curiosity, in the parish poor house to make inquiry of more than a hundred aged widows, and all were the fourth or fifth wife of their husband. The

conduct of Henry VIII. as is known, or rather as is not sufficiently known, has furnished the subject of the story of *Blue Beard*. This conduct perfectly accords with the national character. It has not degenerated in this respect, since the days of that monarch, who espoused and killed so many wives. I am fully convinced that many of the predecessors of the widows above mentioned, without having been subjected to the forms which Henry VIII. employed in the case of Anne Boleyn, Catharine Howard, &c. had found the accuser, judge, jury and executioner, all united in the person of their husband, and that he in this manner paved the way for a new marriage.

We observe, by the way, to give a touch to the national character, that if France had had an Henry the VIIIth, there would not exist in England, where the story of *Blue Beard* is as common as in France, a single child who would not say, who would not continually repeat, that *this monster was a French king*. In the story of *Tom Thumb*, the skilful Thumb is an English child, and the wicked giant "who eats little children, and smells fresh meat," is a *French* giant. It is thus that the education of this people commences.

To convince the incredulous, to persuade men whose goodness is unwilling to admit the possibility of such a mass of crimes, I will state some facts. And first, I will give a letter literally translated, and copied from the *Pilot*, a ministerial paper, of Sept. 30, 1812, a letter which all the other papers have republished.

"MR. EDITOR,—I sincerely regret that the cause which I am about to defend before the public, should have so feeble an advocate as myself; but since no one appears to speak in defence of my oppressed sex, I hope that my temerity will be excused, if I venture to descend into the arena.

“ With what astonishment should it not strike every feeling soul to see husbands, fathers, brothers, men, Englishmen, whose character for benevolence is extended over the globe, whose humanity protects all men, without distinction of country or colour, who shed their blood to repair the mischiefs which their enemies do to Europe, to see these Englishmen, every year rendering more aggravated the charge of infamy, which they deserve, on account of the manner in which they permit a particular branch of their criminal trials, unhappily too multiplied, to terminate ; I mean, Sir, those shameful acquittals which are invariably pronounced in favour of a husband, although it may be substantially demonstrated, and from the clearest evidence, that he is the murderer of his wife. In this case, the surgeons, the jury, and even the judge, all concur in evading the law, which although good in its design, is so disfigured by those who ought to be its organs, and administrators, that it is no longer any thing more than an instrument of protection to the murdering husband, and a means of oppressing the murdered wife.

“ A wife in England, is in fact the only animal which can with impunity be beaten, tortured, put to death in cold blood, designedly, even in broad day, and in presence of a crowd of witnesses, without the law's coming to her assistance. The blows are heard to resound, the wounds are counted, the murderer is seen to strike the blow, the murder sometimes lasts whole hours, and yet the sight of such a crime generally gives rise only to this cold observation, *Oh ! it is a man beating his wife ! he is going to kill her, but which of us must meddle with it ? no one has a right to interfere between man and wife.* And when at length the crime is consummated, the criminal is acquitted by a process which may be regarded as a new insult to the victim, and as a second assassination. The surgeons never fail to declare that it

is not the blows she received, nor even the fall which she has suffered, when her husband after having bruised her, has thrown her out of the window, which caused her death, but the stones, verily, on which she fell. In other cases, it is a cold, with the spitting of blood, a quinsy which has caused her death, but never the blows from the foot, or any weapon, the marks of which still remain imprinted on the breast, the loins or other parts equally mortal. What too, do the witnesses say, if they so much as condescend to consult them? That the unfortunate victim made no opposition to her inhuman master, while she was expiring under his blows, (my heart bleeds at the repetition of it, and I hope heaven will bring him to account for it,) but with these affecting expressions, in the midst of her sufferings: "My dear master, you are going to kill me. Oh, for God's sake, do not kill me!" I ask the gentlemen of the African Society, whether in their record of atrocities committed upon the unhappy blacks, they have examples of crimes so horrible as those by which English wives are sacrificed before our eyes, and in some degree with our sanction? To what motive then can we attribute the sanction given to such horrors. Is it because the men who compose the jury are desirous to perpetuate this barbarous prerogative, or because their consciences reproach them for having themselves too often used towards a feeble and delicate wife, the barbarous power over her which is given them by superior strength? And although they may not be exactly so criminal as the monster on whom they are to pronounce judgment, yet they have so often kicked and caned the wretched females, whom the marriage bond has subjected to their controul, that they have not the hardihood to pronounce a condemnation, which might be returned upon their own heads.

"Now, Sir, let us suppose a contrary case; for they sometimes happen where the others abound, although the instances are rare. O! then all the powers of heaven and earth seem hardly able to collect sufficient means to punish the execrable monster who has dared to commit such a crime; no surgeon finds any imaginary disease to which the death may be attributed, no jury has deliberated to find if there had been any provocation or instigation to commit the crime. They do not lose themselves any more in probabilities, etc.; no judge recommends the criminal to mercy, no relation protects her; no friend laments her; all execrate her as a monster; yet in fact, it is a weak being who is only one degree inferior to man, whom they have had the effrontery to acquit for the same crime.

(Signed)

"A WIFE.

"*Ramsgate, Sept. 26, 1812.*"

When a public paper contains such documents, it is impossible to resist the evidence. To point out with such energy, with such publicity, a mass, a continuity of crimes, is to prove that they form the character of the people.

I have read cursorily most of the public papers. I have examined, with curiosity, the accounts given of assassination, and I can attest that the author of the above letter is perfectly right, and that it is very seldom, although it may not be wholly without example, that a husband is punished for such a crime.

In 1812, a church minister guilty of murdering his wife by repeated stabs with a knife, because she was jealous of her servant girl, who was pregnant, was acquitted as insane, and confined in a mad house. To excuse the partiality of this sentence, *the honour of the gown* is alleged.

The purser of a vessel at Portsmouth was acquitted of the assassination of his wife, killed in bed, by his side with a pistol. The ball had entered by the very ear on the side of the wife nearest her husband; the situation of the corpse indicated that he alone could have killed her, and the pistol was one of his own. He kept his arms always locked up in a drawer, of which he alone had the key; but as there was a moral possibility that his wife might have killed herself, the husband was acquitted. He owed his fortune to her, and she was old; he wished to espouse a young woman, and he concluded the new marriage immediately after having been acquitted of the accusation of murdering his wife.

In 1813, a case of divorce was tried between two persons of the highest class, Mr. and Mrs. Waring. I say the highest class, because none but such persons can have recourse to divorce, and obtain this release from the marriage tie. A plea of divorce does not cost less than five thousand pounds sterling, or one hundred and twenty thousand francs. The principal motive of Madame Waring, and that of which she made most use to support her charge of adultery, was the danger to which she had been several times exposed by the unheard of brutality of her husband. She proved that she had several times been pushed out of her chamber door, and that her husband had torn her from his bed to make room for her chambermaid; she accused him of having caused her miscarriage by beating her; he had thrown her from her seat and dragged her from one apartment to another by the hair of her head; she accused him of having fractured her skull against a marble chimney piece, and of having kicked her out of her carriage. The husband did not deny any of the facts, but alleged in his defence, that his wife was passionate and wilful, that she pushed him to extremities by her unreasonable transports, and

that consequently she ought to blame nobody but herself for what she had suffered. The Attorney General Scott, and the court of Doctors Commons, found the reasons of the husband very good, and determined that he possessed the right of chastising a passionate and headstrong wife, and that he had only exercised that right. Mr. Waring has not even received the slightest exhortation to be more moderate at least, in his marital corrections. This cause and its particulars are related in the papers of 1813.

A husband accused of having murdered his wife, and then thrown her out of window, was acquitted at London in 1812, because the surgeon stated that she was killed by a blow on the head from the stone on which she fell, and not in consequence of the blows she had received from her husband, before he had thrown her down.

In July 1813, Richard Ralph was accused of having murdered his wife by giving her several blows with the weapon he used, and then strangling her. He was acquitted. The surgeon declared that her death was caused by a pressure on the jugular vein, of which the victim showed the marks, but it was possible there might have been a natural apoplexy in consequence, and that the woman might have died of that apoplexy.

Stephen Jordan was acquitted for want of an accuser, at the Assizes in the county of Kent, holden at Maidstone, August, 1813. He had cut the throat of his wife. While the act was perpetrating, the cries of the victim drew thither the neighbours; they forced open the door of the room where she was shut up with her husband, and found him armed with a bloody weapon, and threatening to make the first who should enter share the fate of his wife. Before she died, she declared that he had cut her throat at the instant she was getting into her bed. She expired in twenty-four hours. Some moments before this, they found means to make her retract her

declaration, and according to the records of the Assizes, the husband was acquitted, the jury having nothing to report *for want of an accuser*.

At the Norfolk Assizes, in August 1813, James Maxey was accused of having caused the death of Dinah his wife, and Elizabeth Smith, her daughter by a former marriage, having poisoned both of them the 20th of May preceding. He was acquitted because there was no *witness who had seen him administer the poison*. The apothecary who had sold the arsenic to the husband, the morning they were poisoned, having deposed to that fact only, the jury did not think that proof sufficient.

August 21st, 1813, Charles Connel was dismissed under the *Insane Bill*; he was accused of having several times attempted to murder his wife, and of having finally accomplished the deed, the 17th of August, by stabbing her several times with a knife, while she was sleeping in her bed, one of which stabs had caused her death.

Mary Batte of Solihul in Warwickshire, was murdered by her husband, Nov. 16, 1813. The circumstances of cruelty which attended this murder, and the sang froid of the murderer after its commission, are characteristic. Such traits paint the character of the nation where such examples are daily multiplied. The victim had two brothers, youths of eighteen and nineteen years, who lived with her and her husband in a little country house, which was distant from any kind of neighbourhood. They had gone out to work at six in the morning, the husband had joined them about half an hour afterwards, and the day passed as usual, without the young men's remarking any thing extraordinary in the conduct of their brother-in-law. Returning at night before him, they were surprised to find the door of the house shut; and the husband arriving some moments afterwards, expressed the same astonishment. The door having been forced open, the husband went up first into the chamber to strike fire,

and light the candle. The light scarcely appeared, before the two brothers heard him cry out that his wife was murdered. At this cry they went up, and saw their sister in bed, her head cut in several pieces with a hatchet, and not severed from the trunk. Various indications and spots of blood upon the clothes of the husband, which his brothers in law had not observed during the day, led them to suspect him to be the murderer. In an examination made before the magistrate, this monster confessed the crime, and related the manner in which he had done it; he even assisted in finding the hatchet which he used, and had concealed. The monster was considered *insane*, and acquitted.

November 19, 1813, John Gibbon of Harwich murdered his wife by cutting her throat in bed. In the morning the arteries and veins on the left side were found cut. This woman had made him the father of six living children; jealousy appeared to have been the cause of the crime. Gibbon was acquitted as *insane*.

In examining several periodical publications, I have only met with one murderer of his wife who has been condemned. But it might be said that every thing relating to the English, even their acts of justice, must bear a peculiarly atrocious character. The only witness who appears in this criminal affair, is the son of the assassin and the victim, which morally constitutes in some degree a double crime, the murder of a wife and parricide.

John Britain, Warwick Street, murdered his wife, the morning of April 6, 1813, by striking her with an iron bar which broke her skull. The son of the murderer and murdered was lying in the same chamber. Awakened by the noise of the blows, he arose to assist his mother. He was too late, she was already weltering in her blood. No other accuser, no other witness than this son was found.

Let us finish these horrible recitals of murders committed by husbands on their wives, in a country where these unfortunate beings are far from enjoying that protection and security which the laws grant in England to every other creature, even the lowest order of brutes. The theft of horses, cows, and other animals, with a view to kill them for food, is considered by the English law as a capital offence, and is punished with death. All comments upon such a subject must be superfluous.

CHAP. XXII.

Are the Laws of England more favourable to Women, than were the ancient Laws of France, as M. De Segur has maintained?

THE Viscount De Segur was an elegant writer, and all his works show him to have been the stay of chivalry, but he has particularly given evidence of a refined courtesy in his *Essays on the English Women*. Indeed in this work he devotes the French females to ridicule, he mentions them with a levity which would be called *impertinent*, if he did not compensate for his numberless erroneous observations by his pleasing and elegant style. It is a little failing of which M. De Segur thought himself obliged to partake in common with all the French writers of the last century.

At the end of the second volume of his work, M. De Segur has inserted a chapter under the title of *Laws in England, relating to Women*. In this chapter the eloquent writer, with an ignorance truly gratuitous, falsely charges the ancient French laws, which have not, as he says, protected the women, as do the laws of England, where the privileges of the most amiable part of mankind

are more agreeable to justice and humanity than in France and Italy; in the latter countries, the concessions made to them are derived solely from gallantry, and they are treated with much more coquetry and less kindness. M. De Segur thus expresses himself, and proves that he glances over the question, but never thoroughly examines it.

I shall attempt an analysis, and even a refutation of the principal passages of this chapter, so unlike any thing French. The loyalty which its author professes, is to me an assurance that he would be pleased, if he were still living, to unite with me in rectifying an error which arose from the prejudices of his education, the caprice of the age in which he lived, and from that ridiculous Anglo-mania which has made us the artificers or instruments of our own destruction. It was the fashion of the times thirty years ago, to puff beyond measure, and to admire, upon hearsay, every thing which was done or said in England. The vices and defects of the society of that time prevented M. De Segur from having an opinion of his own, and from resisting the torrent of English admiration. Integrity, and the innate qualities of the heart have preserved this family from the crimes which have distinguished every revolution, although for twenty-five years all the members of it have not ceased to present the ridiculous contrast of men, who, without being willing to give up one of the prejudices of the rank in which they were born, have always wished under every administration and every government, to be thought men of fashion.

“Women, who personally possess a peerage, can only be tried by a Court of Peers. A female having a title, who marries a private man, does not lose her title, and transmits it to her children. A private woman who marries a peer, is ennobled; she loses her title, if, after her husband's death, she marries a plain citizen.”

In England the peerage is a fief without land or vassals, whose title cannot be transmitted to the females, unless the act by which it was created expressly state it; then they are peeresses in their own right in default of male heirs, and they are judged by their peers. This is precisely what takes place in France, in the great fiefs.

These great fiefs, M. De Mably has well observed, were not in France confined to males, but they were transmitted to the daughter on the failure of male heirs. Have we not had Duchesses of Brittany, of Ponthieu, Countesses of Champagne, Hainault, Flanders, Artois, etc. who were peeresses, who could only be summoned before a Court of Peers, and who assisted on account of their rank, at the coronation of kings? Mahaut, Countess of Artois, assisted at the coronation of Philip the Fair; the Countess of Flanders, having only been cited to appear by two knights, maintained that she ought to have been by two of her peers, and that the summons was void. As to the fiefs whose title was specially designated as being obliged to descend to the male heirs in a direct line, or become extinct, (a custom which was not introduced into France, until after the abolition of the great fiefs under the kings of the third race,) the nearest heiress whom the law had no right to deprive of the lands and estates to which this title belonged, commonly transmitted it to her husband, with the consent of the King, observing the formality of letters patent. Many houses of dukes and peers in France, at the time of the revolution, were preserved in no other way; and it is precisely so in England.

The wife, said the French law, in every thing shares the condition of her husband. Thus the woman, though a private person, who marries a duke, becomes a duchess, and her children do not make a class of nobility by themselves. By bringing an immense fortune for her

dowry, and those virtues or talents which the education attendant on riches generally bestows, Mademoiselle Crosat, became duchess of Choiseul, until the time when titles and nobility were abolished in France. The family of M. De Segur is filled with examples of females, who, neither noble, titled, nor of a very good family, (as the expression is,) have taken by marriage the title of their husbands. Has not Mademoiselle d'Aguesseau the elder, always been the Duchess d'Ayen? Has it even been supposed that Mademoiselle d'Aguesseau the younger, was not the Countess De Segur? Was not Mademoiselle Laborde, the daughter of M. Laborde the banker, the Countess of Noailles, and would she not become in succession the Duchess of Mouchy, etc.?

These women do not owe their titles to *French gallantry*, but to the law, which assigns to them in every thing, the state and condition of their husbands, even independently of the husband's will. It is for this reason, as a consequence of the law, that the title was lost in France, as well as in England, by a second marriage with a private man who had no title.

In England, the widow of a peer who is married again to only an esquire, preserves the appellation of Lady; but it is only through courtesy. She loses in the eye of the law, all her privileges, instead of transmitting them to the children of this second marriage. Besides, if M. De Segur meant to say that the titled female who does not lose her title, and transmits it to her children, the issue of her marriage with a simple esquire, is she who holds this title as the inheritance of her ancestors, we are still in this respect, on a perfect equality with England. The great fiefs in France were transmitted to the daughters and their children, even though they should have married a mere knight. It is thus that the Duchy of Burgundy passed into a foreign family, and that of Brittany has

fallen to France, as the inheritance of Madame Claude, by the marriage of Queen Anne her mother.

If a peer dies, leaving a widow and children, the eldest takes his title; if he has no children, the nearest male relation takes it after the same manner; it is continued to the widow by courtesy, but not by law. If there can be no heirs discovered, the title becomes extinct.

"The laws are all calculated in England to protect the weak. If a man by surprize or force, obliges a woman to marry him, he is condemned to two years' imprisonment, and a fine determined by the King. Whoever marries an heiress, after having eloped with her, is guilty of felony."

Any one in reading M. De Segur, would suppose that these two descriptions of crimes were committed with impunity in France; on the contrary, they are there perfectly and completely defined by the laws. The first incurred the pain of death, and the confiscation of the property of the criminal to the use of the injured person; the second incurred ignominious punishment; as, branding with a hot iron, the galleys, and sometimes death, according as the circumstances were more or less aggravated. If the law was not always applied, and rigorously put in execution in cases of this nature, which were so extremely rare, it was because there was a subsequent arrangement agreeable to both families, when the parties were not too ill matched. As to the word *felony*, it is applied in the criminal laws of England, to every crime liable to capital punishment. M. De Segur improperly applies it to the crime of rape by surprize or violence.

"No married woman can be compelled to pay the debt she has contracted without the consent of her husband. If a woman is ill treated by her husband, she

proves it, and leaves him. He is charged with her maintenance, and not with the debts she may contract. A husband ill-treating his wife, if he wish to seclude her from all intercourse with the world, the family unite and present a request to the King's Bench, which obliges the husband to produce his wife. If she demands a separation he cannot refuse it. If a wife in connexion with her husband commit the crime of felony, the husband alone is chargeable with the crime, the law always supposing the instigation of the husband."

The French law said—A woman subject to a husband; cannot be compelled to pay the debts she has contracted without his consent; as to those for which she is obligated jointly with her husband, and under his authority, she must be indemnified out of the estate of her husband, in preference to the creditors to whom she has not obligated herself. For any debt contracted by the husband, even though for the benefit of the wife, her dowry and patrimony cannot be made accountable. What more says the English law than this?

The wife who is abused by her husband, by the terms of the French law, on a simple demand for justice, could be authorized to live separate from him, in a decent house, which was appointed her. It was generally a religious house, whence she could prosecute for a separation of person and estate. During the course of the prosecution, the husband was obliged to see to the maintenance of his wife. What does the English law more than this?

If the French laws relative to females were to be complained of, it was not for a deficiency in the protection afforded to their persons and property, but rather on account of their indulgence. How many dissipated wives have ruined their husbands, and caused the ruin of respectable creditors, by holding a considerable fortune

under the protection of the laws, and keeping it from creditors, whose only fault was that of having furnished expensive articles, by the orders of too weak a husband, whose estate had become too small to meet the dissipation of his wife.

The pen of M. De Segur would do honour to a romance. The northern and eastern towers in which the husbands of France and Italy can confine their wives, hold a distinguished place in the literary productions of Mrs. Radcliffe; but still it is necessary to go back to the most remote or barbarous centuries, and pass over even the ages of chivalry, to give any appearance of truth to this sort of confinement in France, about which we have only romances, while England furnishes us with authentic subjects of history. Witness the confinement and persecutions of the fair Rosamond by the wife of one of the Edwards.

In France, a husband would not have been able to hold his wife in a private prison even twenty-four hours, without the whole family's immediately uniting to enter a complaint; the public outcry would have been sufficient, and he would have been obliged to produce her at the first summons; if by her deposition the wife should have concurred in supporting the complaint brought by her relations or friends, she would have been placed by the magistrate under the protection of the laws, and an honourable asylum, such as her father's house, or a religious community, would have been assigned her. Half of the life of the celebrated Duchess of Mazarin has been a proof of this protection afforded by the French laws; and the result of the prosecution for divorce, between Mr. and Mrs. Waring, has proved what sort of protection the laws and tribunals offer to an injured wife in England.

A wife who is the accomplice of her husband, is not acquitted of the crime which he has perpetrated, as M. De Segur has been led to think, because the influence of the strongest party is supposed. On the contrary, according to the English laws, the wife is condemned, and executed with her husband, but this law allows the wife a barbarous method of escape, and she generally takes advantage of it. A French woman, more generous, would reject it with horror. The English wife turns what is called *King's Evidence*; she becomes the prosecutress, the instrument of the conviction and condemnation of her husband. In all crimes, where there are accomplices, the weakest of the criminals, he who is supposed to have had the least concern in it, is always admitted as *King's evidence*, and, in that case, the King always pardons him who offers to serve as a witness for the King; an atrocious law, which often causes the death of a husband, or a father, on the single evidence of a wife or son. The French law has never sought for such evidence, which is in itself almost a crime, and has never received it when it could in any manner be refused; in fine, it has never passed sentence on the strength of such evidence, except when several witnesses tended to corroborate the fact. This *King's evidence* has generally a full pardon, and this is in fact what has induced M. De Segur to say that the husband only remains charged with the crime.

"If a woman conceal her husband, who is pursued for any crime, it is only considered a natural action, and the law never punishes sensibility."

Here M. De Segur has evidently been led astray by the weak desire of writing a sentence purely sentimental. In what corner of France had this author seen a wife or a son punished for having concealed a husband or a father, although guilty of crimes, (speaking in a legal and

not a revolutionary sense.) If, sometimes, subalterns, employed in searching for the criminal, have harshly abused, or even have used violence towards the noble beings who yielded to the cries of nature, and the impulse of feeling, to save the lives most dear to them, it was an outrage against the law itself, and such conduct was not allowed in the execution of the law. The bailiffs who are charged with the execution of a warrant to seize the body of debtors, often have recourse to artifice, and unwarrantable violence towards the persons they are empowered to arrest. It might as well be said that the law concerning debtors is a law of stratagem and violence.

“A woman, in marrying, may have the contract drawn up in such a manner as to reserve to herself the right of regulating her personal fortune. When a husband dies, his wife has always a right to a dowry, which secures her a competency.”

Had not a wife in France also a right to marry without having her property in common? Are not all the stipulations in the marriage covenant for the special direction of her property respected?

M. De Segur is neither a lawyer, a jurist, nor a civilian. He confounds the dowry and the dower. He wishes to find an extraordinary origin to the dowry of which he speaks, and he seeks for it in the Danish laws. Supposing that this dower (in England) is the reward of the sacrifice of all their gold and silver jewels, which the ladies of that country made to redeem their King, Canute, who was taken prisoner; while the *English* dowry is simply founded upon a Norman law or custom, brought over by William the Conqueror, and adopted by his successors; M. De Segur has not discovered that this disposition of property is made in England in the same cases, and in the same manner as in France.

The portion of the English laws the least tinctured with barbarity, is that which owes its origin to the Norman laws, or which approaches the nearest to their customs.

These laws or customs, originating in France, are the only protectors of the females, and whenever the English laws depart from these customs, the women are treated in the British jurisprudence as humble slaves.

For instance, daughters in England, and for once M. De Segur agrees in the fact, daughters are excluded from succeeding to their father's estate, unless they are named by a special clause in the will. Is such a law more conformable to justice and humanity than the French law, which called all the children of both sexes, without distinction, to an equal division of their paternal inheritance? The *law of fiefs* made a different disposal, but this law, altered, or rather abolished by our civil code, was common to all the younger children, male and female, and had no particular application to women.

In fine, the English law which deprives the mother of a family, a respectable wife of the guardianship of her children, except she be expressly named for that purpose in her husband's will; this law which transfers, in the contrary case, the guardianship to the King; this law which delivers up the inheritance of unhappy orphans to the avidity of lawyers, which deprives children of that submission, respect and love due to their mother, by making her a stranger to their necessities and education; is this law more just, more liberal than the French law, which at all times imperatively gave the guardianship to the mother, which so religiously secured it to her, except in cases of incapacity or unworthiness, which the law itself determined, and did not leave to be decided by the caprice or jealousy of those who would have wished to tear from a mother the guardianship of her children?

See from what prejudices, what errors, and what false notions they judge of English legislation in France; and it is nearly so with every thing admirable in the manners and customs of Great Britain, for which they have been indebted to us the last fifty years.

M. De Segur has not been correct, he has even been more than partial, when he has compared the treatment of English females by the laws of England, with the treatment of French females by the ancient laws of France. Our mothers, our wives, our sisters and daughters have always been more favoured in our codes, or in our jurisprudence, than the English woman are, and as to treatment and conduct in regard to social habits, good manners, and real civilization, the difference between France and England, is as great as that which exists between the brute, who abandons himself to every impulse of caprice, or force, and the civilized man, who loves, respects, and fulfils every duty.

CHAP. XXIII.

Assassination of Husbands by their Wives.

IT must be said to the honour of the women, that the assassination of husbands is much less common in England, than that of wives. They are numerous however, and bear such a proportion as would excite horror in any other country. Such crimes seldom happen in the different countries of Europe, but at long intervals, and then almost form an epoch in the age in which they happen.

In the criminal records of France, I do not know of but one assassination of this description, which has been committed in the last century, that of l'Escombat, by

the lover of his wife, at the instigation of that wretch, whose manners have such a horrid celebrity. In the preceding century, we only find the Marchioness De Brinvilliers, that monster, who was guilty of every species of crime, and committed parricide with deliberation.

It is reckoned that in England, at least three or four women are annually executed for murdering or poisoning their husbands. The assassination is generally performed in bed. A wife who suffers from the brutality of her drunken husband, seizes him in that state, and during his first sleep. If the crime is ever pardonable, such an outrage might be excusable in the view of those who are well acquainted with the cruel and ferocious character of the English, but it must be confessed, that crimes proceeding from such motives, are the least frequent.

In the six last months of 1812, and the six first of 1813, only, the public papers have given publicity to the following facts.

Mrs. Moer, widow of John Moer, an esquire, possessed of a very considerable fortune, has been sentenced to death for having assassinated her husband with a knife, being assisted by her footman, with whom she lived in adultery. Her execution has been deferred, because she has declared herself pregnant in consequence of her criminal connection. After her accouchement she was executed, and the child declared a bastard, and the offspring of adultery.

A Mrs. Morgan, wife of Thomas Morgan of Swanzev, has been condemned, for having assassinated her husband in the night, with a weapon, whose extremity being thick and round, formed a club, with which she had broken his head.

A Mrs. Azuba Fontaine has been condemned for having poisoned Mr. Fontaine of Waltham, her husband, in

concert with her lover, George Russell, who had furnished her with laudanum, obtained from the apothecary of the place. The poison, although twice administered, not having completely taken effect, she added to these crimes, that of suffocating her victim.

I am certain that several other murders of the same description, have taken place in the above space of time, but I am unwilling to allow myself to relate them from memory, not having before me the papers in which I have read them. From the horrible accounts I have just given, it may be concluded that crimes of this nature are not rare in England.

I will say without partiality, that we have had in France, in this century, one instance of a similar crime. All Paris for several years have seen a woman carrying on her shoulders in a wicker basket, a husband who was a cripple, and for whom she begged in this situation. All wondered at the patience, and pitied the sufferings of this woman, whom her brutal husband obliged to travel much as a mule driver does his stubborn beast. He had in his hand a short staff, with a sharp point, which he thrust into her neck. Witnessing a barbarity entirely foreign to our habits, the common people had several times punished the cripple, but he was not reformed by the thumps bestowed upon him.

One day fatigued with her sufferings, and abused by her tyrant, because she rested her burden on the breast walls of the Pont-Neuf, a privilege he very seldom granted her, the wretched victim unfastened the straps of the basket, and precipitated her mendicant Scarron into the Seine. She was arrested. The advocate of this woman wished to insinuate, that the husband fell accidentally; that the straps of the basket broke immediately upon setting it down, on account of the straining they experienced. The judges seemed inclined to adopt this opin-

ion, and a multitude of witnesses appeared in favour of the criminal, to swear to her patience and resignation. But truth was the only arms she wished to employ in her defence. She confessed that she had purposely precipitated him into the river: that although tired of life, she did not throw herself after him, because she feared that divine justice would not pardon the double crime; that she ought to atone for the death of her husband, and that she recommended herself to the compassion of the Supreme Judge of the heart and actions.

The jury declared this woman guilty, and she was sentenced to suffer capital punishment, and was executed in 1803, or 1804. She had caused the death of her husband, but her crime was rather an act of despair, than the effect of barbarity. If the daily and incessant sufferings which this victim of brutality experienced from the misery and infirmities of her husband be considered, she must be pitied; her fate is interesting, and obliterates her crime.

CHAP. XXIV.

Assassination of Sweethearts by their Lovers.

Our writers of romances, or rather of sentimental pages, are delighted with the English dramas, and the generous sacrifices which the young lovers submit to with such rapture. In these numberless productions, they are incessantly extolling the propensity of the English to melancholy, that engaging melancholy which gives rise to such tender sentiments, which ensures fidelity, proves the sincerity of love, and answers for its constancy. This melancholy, which is made the essential attribute of an English woman, is chiefly caused by the influ-

ence of a dark and foggy atmosphere. Doubtless it is not inconsistent with the gentle affections, but it produces little better than monsters in England. An idolized female is not abandoned, but assassinated.

The daughter of a farmer was carrying to a creditor of her father at some distance from the farm, the sum of ten pounds sterling, which she placed under her hat, and set out accompanied by her lover. The monster murdered her on the road, cut off her head, and carried it to a considerable distance from the body, stripped her naked, and robbed her of her clothes and the ten pounds. The lover still held the head of his mistress in his hand when he was taken. This crime was committed in 1810.

An article inserted in the papers of April 1813, warned masters and mistresses of families against the danger to which they were exposed by admitting into their houses the pretended friends of their female servants, who came under the pretence of visiting them. They added that a young girl, the servant of a widow woman, was murdered during the night in London, by a lover who had received permission to visit the girl. After having stripped the body of his sweetheart, the monster carried off her clothes, and some pieces of plate which he stole from the closet.

In July 1813, some workmen found in the shaft of a coal mine at Woodash, the body of a girl who lived in the vicinity, by the name of Agnes Watson. She had been thrown there during the night. Before she was thrown into the mine, her skull had been broken with a sharp instrument. Marks of blood, and a quantity of hair, found on the brink of the precipice, indicated the nature of the wounds. Her lover, James Jackson, committed the crime. He had disappeared the next morning, but was retaken a short time after, and condemned to death at the next Assizes.

In the month of August, 1813, a young man, the son of a farmer of Cowhornburn, named Luke Heath, was condemned to be hung for having murdered his mistress, Sarah Harris, the daughter of another farmer, during the night. This unfortunate being had been in the habit of admitting him into her chamber by night. Her old father, rising one morning sooner than usual, perceived the door of his daughter's chamber open. Traces of blood conducted him to a pool which was in his yard. The body of his daughter was in this pool, the water of which was tinged with the blood which had flowed from two mortal wounds. The criminal has confessed that he killed his mistress by striking her on the head with a pitchfork.

A man of a decent appearance, aged about sixty years, presented himself at the police office in London, August 27, 1813. He said he was a cabinet maker. Urged by feelings of the deepest remorse, he came to deliver himself into the hands of justice, as one of the greatest criminals on which its vengeance could be exercised. In his youth, during his apprenticeship, a young girl whom he greatly loved, became pregnant by him; he had given her poison, and destroyed both mother and child. Since that time he had married a woman by whom he had had seven children, who, with their mother, were all dead, which he looked upon as the beginning of divine vengeance.

After various inquiries as to the habits and conduct of this man, which were generally free from reproach, and after being assured that he had never shown any marks of insanity, the magistrates, unable to find any proofs of the crime of which he accused himself, on account of the long lapse of time since it happened, dismissed him with an exhortation to expiate the offence of which he declared himself guilty, by an exemplary

life, and a sincere repentance during the remainder of his days.

The public prints have given an account of a crime of the same nature committed at London. They have been silent as to the result of this crime. I have not the article before me now, but I recollect it perfectly, and it was nearly in the following words.

A young female, born of respectable parents, and seduced by a young man of high rank, lived with him publickly at London. One morning he informed his people, that during the night she had died beside him in bed. The victim was buried, and the young man departed the same evening on a journey. Some reports, little to his honour, being circulated amongst his servants, as to the cause of her death, the body was disinhumed. Her breast was found to be pierced with a long silver pin, whose head was concealed under the flesh, and whose point entered the heart. The result of this affair has not been given, but every one can guess the reason, which is, that *the young girl might have killed herself*, although no one doubted that the lover was the murderer, and all the circumstances tended to prove it.

I could cite a multitude of examples not less atrocious, but I forbear. If the assassinations just related, have happened in the space of a few months, a judgment may be formed as to the frequency of such crimes amongst a people naturally cruel. It would be difficult for the reporters of cases and celebrated trials, to mention another nation, however savage it may be thought, which can be compared with the English. The French are guilty of many follies, they are inconstant in their amours, they sometimes commit acts of despair, but they seldom commit crimes in their amorous transports. The English seek for their victims among the dearest objects of their affections.

The youth of both sexes enjoy great liberty in England. Respectable girls, as well as those of the lower order, go out, absent themselves, or as they call it, go a visiting amongst their own family, or those of their school mates. They go long distances alone, or with a chambermaid, or one or two female friends, either in a post chaise, or one of those public vehicles, which abound on all the roads, and in every direction, in England. On these visits, which sometimes last whole months, they never fail to get a *sweetheart*, or to have meetings with one they have already. In all places as well as at all hours, they show themselves, or rather conceal themselves, as is most agreeable, with this *sweetheart* in the most distant walks, riding, or on foot without any body's troubling themselves, or finding fault with it. Girls of a certain rank, having much more leisure than those who work for their living, do not differ from them except in being more or less licentious, the latter being less put to it to find employment for their time, husband their interviews better, and improve them more assiduously.

If M. the Viscount De Segur, who, as we have seen, speaks of English women, like a man full of the prejudices of the age in which he was born, had been well acquainted with England, and had taken the trouble to study its manners, he might have said of this country no less than of corrupted Rome, no where is the dreadful science of abortions carried to such lengths. The care with which the English girls avoid the consequences of their criminality, this cruel care arises rather from the incumbrance, than the fear of not finding a husband if their lover deceive them, or break his promise. Englishmen in general have very little delicacy in this respect, and care but little about the previous conduct of the woman with whom they are going to be united. No doubt the

state of incontinence in which the young girls in England generally live, and the irreproachable prudence of almost all the young girls in France, must be attributed to the difference of education and prejudice in the two countries.

In France, a young lady whose conduct has been suspected, remains single, or only marries a man degraded like herself in the public opinion. It is not so with our neighbours. I could produce a multitude of notorious examples taken from all ranks, but I shall only select one from the middling class, a class which exists in both nations.

When the English had seized upon our colonies, a captain made an offer of marriage to a young lady, in one of the conquered islands. She was still young, and had a fortune, and had her reasons for vowing celibacy under the French government. After some hesitation, she made to her intended one of those confidential disclosures, which disconcert a Frenchman, but the brave Englishman was not so in the least. It does not signify, Mademoiselle, said he, when you become my wife, you will become chaste, and that is all I care for.

Groves, the darkest and most retired places of parks, bye roads, and fields, are the rendezvous and mysterious places of resort for girls of high birth, but the girls of the lower orders do not go so far to find the theatre of their pleasures; they have less time to lose, and it is the cemetery of the parish, which every evening becomes the place of rendezvous. This profanation of cemeteries throughout England, is truly shocking to a Frenchman, who has only become acquainted with the country by a tour made in a post chaise, on one of the high roads which lead from the place of landing to the capital. He is led to applaud the neatness and the respect which is bestowed upon the asylum of the dead. This sacred place is gen-

erally surrounded on the inside with a row of lime trees and gravel walks leading to the church, which is built in the centre of the cemetery, and completely detached from all other buildings. Frenchmen who have resided in England, and observed the habits and morals of that country, see there what I have seen, the cemeteries transformed into places of prostitution.

CHAP. XXV.

Parricide.

My hand trembles at commencing this chapter, but it must be written. The fifteenth year of this century has hardly arrived, and France has seen already the horrid crime of parricide committed. But happily it is extremely rare amongst us, and on the contrary is very common in England.

We owe however this justice to the English nation, that they disbelieve, or feign to disbelieve, that it is possible for a reasonable being to commit parricide. The English magistrate coincides in opinion with the Spartan lawgiver. Whether it proceeds from horror at the crime, or national pride, or a fear lest their criminal annals should be too often sullied by the punishment of parricides, this crime in England is always the crime of *insanity*.

I have read in the papers of the assassination of several parents by their children ; amongst others, the poisoning of a widow, who was an apothecary at Reading, by her daughter, who administered arsenic to her in a cup of tea, because the mother had refused to let her marry. The judge and jury have applied to her the celebrated Bill, known by the name of Nicholson's Bill, whose penal-

ty is perpetual confinement, on account of the acknowledged insanity of the criminal. The Nicholson Bill was enacted by Parliament when a woman named Nicholson attempted to assassinate George III. and is now applied to every enormous crime which national honour requires them to conceal. Parricide is amongst the number.

In the chapter intitled, "Assassination of Wives by their Husbands," I have made mention of the conduct of a son, the only witness and accuser of his father, who was the murderer of his mother. It inspires a feeling of indignation blended with pity, which cannot be defined. Nature is at variance with nature itself. There is no parricide in the case, and yet it is so, since the shocking truth discovered by the son, has condemned the father to the scaffold. This truth was torn from him by the interpellation of the judge, who summoned him in the name of God and justice; but it is not so with the following.

Thomas Fennesworth was prosecuted by his father at the Assizes in his county, in 1812, on two indictments. The first, for having attempted to assassinate him by striking him with a sharp weapon, which had wounded him several times, with the design of killing him; the second, as a libellist for having published that he had assassinated his wife, the mother of the accused, fifteen years before, and for having even offered to prove it. The Attorney General, and the magistrate, generally determine the opinion of the jury in their address; they were unwilling to allow the crimes of this family of monsters to be exposed to the public, and confined themselves to this decision, that in the charge of a libel, there was a defect in the form, and they acquitted the criminal; that in the father's charge against the son, who had wished to murder him, and had dangerously wounded him with a sharp instrument, there was, to say the least, bad treat-

ment, and they condemned the guilty son to twelve months imprisonment. As to the assertion of the son, in which he persisted in their presence, that his father had murdered his mother fifteen years before, of which murder he offered to furnish proof, the judges declined hearing any thing about it.

All the auditory, the judges, the jury, says the writer who relates the affair, departed, persuaded that this family, the worthy imitators of the *Atrides*, were guilty of all the crimes of which they accused each other, parricide, the murder of a wife, theft, &c. but the judge, adds the editor, wisely spread a veil over so many horrors, "because it is necessary to banish from the minds of the people even the thought, that a crime so dreadful as that of parricide, dishonours England."

September 3, 1813, William Glover, aged forty years, who lived with his father and mother, near Abergavenny, Monmouthshire, murdered them both while asleep in bed, by breaking their skulls with a club, and then having thrown their bodies on the floor, he broke all their limbs one after another. After this accumulated guilt, covered with blood, he entered the chamber of his brother-in-law, boasting of what he had done. He told him that he was going to disencumber him of his wife, by sending his sister to join her father and mother. The brother-in-law called for assistance, the monster was arrested, and conducted to the county jail.

A paper, from which I copy what follows, observes that "On Wednesday, September 20, 1813, at Berkhouse, near Grasmery, was committed one of those horrid crimes with which heaven suffers us from time to time to be afflicted for the punishment of our national pride. Mrs. Mary Watson, has had her throat cut, and her skull broken in pieces. Her only son is suspected, and this wretched being has been arrested at Brathlay Bridge,

and examined at Ambleside. The bloody knife with which he had committed the deed, was found upon him."

In another chapter, speaking of the propensity of young children in England to the commission of the most atrocious crimes, I have mentioned a parricide committed by a young child at Plymouth. The public prints of April 8, 1814, give an account of this affair in the following terms.

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It is shocking to me to cause the reader to dwell any longer upon such atrocities, but unfortunately I am still under the necessity of making him acquainted with crimes by no means less dreadful.

CHAP. XXVI.

Infanticide.

It is difficult to conceive of the crime of infanticide; nothing can excuse it, not even the shame and reproach which await the unhappy victims of seduction in every country where the morals of the people have preserved any degree of austerity. Parricide is perhaps more atrocious than infanticide, but the latter excites more

commiseration, because the child who is murdered, has not yet entered into life.

Infanticide, that crime so rare a century ago, and which is still but little known in most of the governments of Europe, is committed in England with a sort of impunity, and to such an extent, that we cannot think of it without trembling. The public papers are continually filled with deeds of cruelty which make one shudder. We will give a few examples. But that we may avoid being reproached by decency and public modesty, that we may not be accused of too highly colouring the picture, we desire our readers to cast their eyes first on the following letter. It was published in answer to the letter on the assassination of wives by their husbands, in the papers of September, 1812. It is from their own accounts we form an opinion of the English.

“We insert the letter of our fair correspondent so much the more willingly, as we have never had the least doubt as to the right of both sexes to equal justice. We are ready to confess, moreover, that there are many cases in which the ladies have a just right to complain; that men, to whom nature has assigned, or who perhaps have usurped the highest rank, to arrogate to themselves the exclusive right of making laws, have often improved it to secure their ascendancy in preference to the more equitable conduct of observing a strict impartiality between the sexes. But the point discussed by our fair correspondent does not appear to us to find fault with the laws, inasmuch as it would establish a distinction, either in form or substance, when a decision is to be made between the two sexes. Her complaints, in fact, only bear upon the principle of humanity and impartiality, cited from time immemorial as the basis of the application of our criminal laws; that whenever there is the least doubt, the accused should be acquitted. There

are some striking instances of acquittal where the probability is so strong against the accused, that everyone is persuaded of his culpability, and that even in cases of assassination, as well as those of less importance. Nevertheless, on the supposition of a doubt, we think it better to decide with lenity, even though a criminal should escape, than to run the risk of punishing the innocent; as might be the case if prejudice be substituted for proof, and opinion for conviction. We recollect a recent example where public indignation was expressed in a forcible manner at the acquittal of one who was accused and prosecuted for the murder of a young boy, who died while suffering cruel treatment, of which it was proved that the accused was guilty. Yet as there appeared, according to the report of the surgeons, some probabilities by which the death might be attributed to other causes, these probabilities, as is supposed, raised some doubts in the minds of the jury, who after a long deliberation gave in a verdict of not guilty. A few public papers indulged themselves in some severe remarks upon this acquittal both against the judge and jury, calling them by name. The authors and publishers of these remarks were prosecuted, and sentenced to a very severe imprisonment; and we recollect also that in their defense, to procure their liberation, Lord Erskine, (an authority no less respectable in point of law and justice, than liberty and humanity) did not hesitate to declare his disapprobation of the custom of animadverting upon decisions of acquittal. The examples mentioned in our correspondent's letter, are taken from acquittals of husbands accused of assassinating their wives, but what is too often unhappily proved, and what she will not deny, we will inform her, that often also, in verdicts relating to a crime of which an infinity of females are guilty, the same turn is given in favour of the accused. To be con-

vinced of this truth, let her have the goodness to attend the criminal trials *which take place much too often*, and which always end in the acquittal of the females accused of murdering their new born children. Can human conception form an idea of a crime so horrible as that of a woman who murders her own child, a being so innocent; harmless, and without any means of defence; whose whole power extends no farther than feeble cries for assistance, whose supplicating and plaintive accents ought to soften and penetrate the hardest heart, and whose mother especially ought to be the last person to refuse her aid? Unfortunate creature! who but a moment ago was identified with, and made part of herself, and for whom she ought at least to discover that feeling of anxious tenderness, which the most ferocious beasts do not refuse their young: and yet such monsters, monsters guilty of a crime at which all nature revolts, are daily acquitted, if the surgeon, who has seen the child after its death, declares that it could have been still born; or even, as it happened in a case too recent to have been forgotten, if the woman in the delivery has been able accidentally to kill her child.

[There may have been unlucky instances where the administration of justice may have been influenced in certain things by foreign causes, or a general prejudice; but we do not believe, and we can assert, that in cases where sentences of life or death was to be pronounced, sex has never been able to establish the least difference to the prejudice of females. We can assert, moreover, that no such monstrous idea could ever have entered into the mind of an Englishman, and the physicians, jurists and judges cannot be accused of it without the blackest calumny. Doubtless it may sometimes happen that the guilty escape; but if there be any error, it is better

that it should be in their acquittal, than in their condemnation ; for it is precisely on this principle, that it is better to err by too much indulgence, than by severity, that the safety of those innocently accused rests."

This letter expresses the true principles of judicial legislation ; it breathes the sentiments of humanity, but it does not at all prove that the females may not have cause to complain of the application of the law ; it does not prove that those guilty of murdering their wives are not very frequently acquitted in England, even against the intent of the law ; but what it evidently does prove, and this is precisely the deduction I wish to draw from it, is, that murders of every kind, and infanticide, are common in the Three Kingdoms to an extraordinary degree.

Almost every infanticide of the nature of those of which the letter speaks, have been preceded with unsuccessful attempts to produce abortion. If instances of abortion are numberless, there are other examples not less horrid of this dreadful depravity ; these are the victims which the unskilful use of too violent remedies, hurries to the tomb with the germ which they wished to destroy. All the surgeons are merchant druggists, and for the most part profoundly ignorant. They never refuse the benefit of their lancet to whoever applies for it, and still less the sale of their drugs, from arsenic to opium. They sell to whoever wishes to purchase, without troubling themselves as to the use about to be made of them.

If infanticide were confined to the description mentioned in the above letter, where it is allowed that the crime is unhappily very common, the causes of its frequent repetition would be attributed to a fault in the legislation of the country. But a crime of this nature is committed daily, under circumstances which shows the barbarous character of the English people, and in a great

number of cases where the young females cannot say, as a sort of palliation, that they wished to preserve their reputation by destroying the fruit of their folly, or of a momentary aberration.

The young lad mentioned in the letter, furnished the example of a child aged fourteen years, murdered with a cane by his own father. The latter gave as a reason for his conduct, the dislike of his son for the profession to which he had destined him.

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All these infanticides, and a great number of crimes of the same description, committed by the fathers or married mothers upon children already grown up, are daily published in the papers; two or three articles of atrocious crimes are always found there, with many of

which the people of other countries are entirely unacquainted.

It is generally remarked, that the public girls, female servants, and kept women, in France, bestow every attention upon the children which they have had the happiness or unhappiness to bring into the world. It is the contrary in England.

The most frequent cause of the assassination of children is found in the obstacle which their existence, or their numbers, presents to a second marriage; in the hatred which the stepmother bears towards the children of a former marriage; in that sentiment of hatred which she easily instils into the bosom of a father who is encumbered with a numerous family, and naturally disposed to every sort of crime. Accident unfolds the germ, cupidity and barbarity finish the work.

In this description of crimes there is one which is found almost every day in the papers; that of children of the lower orders, which neighbours have taken from their parents to place them in houses provided for orphan children, because they were tired of the cries of these unfortunate little creatures who were bruised, exhausted with blows, and dying with hunger, although the father and mother by the profits of their daily labour were in a situation to support their family. Fathers and mothers also very frequently abandon their children. The public prints of November 2d, 1813, promise a reward of two guineas per man, in behalf of the city of Manchester, to whoever shall bring back and deliver forty married men, who in a short time had abandoned their wives and children, and left them to be taken care of by the parish. This custom of abandoning families increases, say the English editors, in an alarming manner throughout England.

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ty is perpetual confinement, on account of the acknowledged insanity of the criminal. The Nicholson Bill was enacted by Parliament when a woman named Nicholson attempted to assassinate George III. and is now applied to every enormous crime which national honour requires them to conceal. Parricide is amongst the number.

In the chapter intitled, "Assassination of Wives by their Husbands," I have made mention of the conduct of a son, the only witness and accuser of his father, who was the murderer of his mother. It inspires a feeling of indignation blended with pity, which cannot be defined. Nature is at variance with nature itself. There is no parricide in the case, and yet it is so, since the shocking truth discovered by the son, has condemned the father to the scaffold. This truth was torn from him by the interpellation of the judge, who summoned him in the name of God and justice; but it is not so with the following.

Thomas Fennesworth was prosecuted by his father at the Assizes in his county, in 1812, on two indictments. The first, for having attempted to assassinate him by striking him with a sharp weapon, which had wounded him several times, with the design of killing him; the second, as a libellist for having published that he had assassinated his wife, the mother of the accused, fifteen years before, and for having even offered to prove it. The Attorney General, and the magistrate, generally determine the opinion of the jury in their address; they were unwilling to allow the crimes of this family of monsters to be exposed to the public, and confined themselves to this decision, that in the charge of a libel, there was a defect in the form, and they acquitted the criminal; that in the father's charge against the son, who had wished to murder him, and had dangerously wounded him with a sharp instrument, there was, to say the least, bad treat-

ment, and they condemned the guilty son to twelve months imprisonment. As to the assertion of the son, in which he persisted in their presence, that his father had murdered his mother fifteen years before, of which murder he offered to furnish proof, the judges declined hearing any thing about it.

All the auditory, the judges, the jury, says the writer who relates the affair, departed, persuaded that this family, the worthy imitators of the *Atreides*, were guilty of all the crimes of which they accused each other, parricide, the murder of a wife, theft, &c. but the judge, adds the editor, wisely spread a veil over so many horrors, "because it is necessary to banish from the minds of the people even the thought, that a crime so dreadful as that of parricide, dishonours England."

September 3, 1813, William Glover, aged forty years, who lived with his father and mother, near Abergavenny, Monmouthshire, murdered them both while asleep in bed, by breaking their skulls with a club, and then having thrown their bodies on the floor, he broke all their limbs one after another. After this accumulated guilt, covered with blood, he entered the chamber of his brother-in-law, boasting of what he had done. He told him that he was going to disencumber him of his wife, by sending his sister to join her father and mother. The brother-in-law called for assistance, the monster was arrested, and conducted to the county jail.

A paper, from which I copy what follows, observes that "On Wednesday, September 20, 1813, at Berkhouse, near Grasmery, was committed one of those horrid crimes with which heaven suffers us from time to time to be afflicted for the punishment of our national pride. Mrs. Mary Watson, has had her throat cut, and her skull broken in pieces. Her only son is suspected, and this wretched being has been arrested at Brathlay Bridge,

and examined at Ambleside. The bloody knife with which he had committed the deed, was found upon him."

In another chapter, speaking of the propensity of young children in England to the commission of the most atrocious crimes, I have mentioned a parricide committed by a young child at Plymouth. The public prints of April 8, 1814, give an account of this affair in the following terms.

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It is shocking to me to cause the reader to dwell any longer upon such atrocities, but unfortunately I am still under the necessity of making him acquainted with crimes by no means less dreadful.

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It is difficult to conceive of the crime of infanticide; nothing can excuse it, not even the shame and reproach which await the unhappy victims of seduction in every country where the morals of the people have preserved any degree of austerity. Parricide is perhaps more atrocious than infanticide, but the latter excites more

commiseration, because the child who is murdered, has not yet entered into life.

Infanticide, that crime so rare a century ago, and which is still but little known in most of the governments of Europe, is committed in England with a sort of impunity, and to such an extent, that we cannot think of it without trembling. The public papers are continually filled with deeds of cruelty which make one shudder. We will give a few examples. But that we may avoid being reproached by decency and public modesty, that we may not be accused of too highly colouring the picture, we desire our readers to cast their eyes first on the following letter. It was published in answer to the letter on the assassination of wives by their husbands, in the papers of September, 1812. It is from their own accounts we form an opinion of the English.

“ We insert the letter of our fair correspondent so much the more willingly, as we have never had the least doubt as to the right of both sexes to equal justice. We are ready to confess, moreover, that there are many cases in which the ladies have a just right to complain, that men, to whom nature has assigned, or who perhaps have usurped the highest rank, to arrogate to themselves the exclusive right of making laws, have often improved it to secure their ascendancy in preference to the more equitable conduct of observing a strict impartiality between the sexes. But the point discussed by our fair correspondent does not appear to us to find fault with the laws, inasmuch as it would establish a distinction, either in form or substance, when a decision is to be made between the two sexes. Her complaints, in fact, only bear upon the principle of humanity and impartiality, cited from time immemorial as the basis of the application of our criminal laws; that whenever there is the least doubt, the accused should be acquitted. There

are some striking instances of acquittal where the probability is so strong against the accused, that everyone is persuaded of his culpability, and that even in cases of assassination, as well as those of less importance. Nevertheless, on the supposition of a doubt, we think it better to decide with lenity, even though a criminal should escape, than to run the risk of punishing the innocent; as might be the case if prejudice be substituted for proof, and opinion for conviction. We recollect a recent example where public indignation was expressed in a forcible manner at the acquittal of one who was accused and prosecuted for the murder of a young boy, who died while suffering cruel treatment, of which it was proved that the accused was guilty. Yet as there appeared, according to the report of the surgeons, some probabilities by which the death might be attributed to other causes, these probabilities, as is supposed, raised some doubts in the minds of the jury, who after a long deliberation gave in a verdict of not guilty. A few public papers indulged themselves in some severe remarks upon this acquittal both against the judge and jury, calling them by name. The authors and publishers of these remarks were prosecuted, and sentenced to a very severe imprisonment; and we recollect also that in their defense, to procure their liberation, Lord Erskine, (an authority no less respectable in point of law and justice, than liberty and humanity) did not hesitate to declare his disapprobation of the custom of animadverting upon decisions of acquittal. The examples mentioned in our correspondent's letter, are taken from acquittals of husbands accused of assassinating their wives, but what is too often unhappily proved, and what she will not deny, we will inform her, that often also, in verdicts relating to a crime of which an infinity of females are guilty, the same turn is given in favour of the accused. To be con-

vinced of this truth; let her have the goodness to attend the criminal trials which take place much too often, and which always end in the acquittal of the females accused of murdering their new born children. Can human conception form an idea of a crime so horrible as that of a woman who murders her own child, a being so innocent, harmless, and without any means of defence; whose whole power extends no farther than feeble cries for assistance, whose supplicating and plaintive accents ought to soften and penetrate the hardest heart, and whose mother especially ought to be the last person to refuse her aid! Unfortunate creature! who but a moment ago was identified with, and made part of herself, and for whom she ought at least to discover that feeling of anxious tenderness, which the most ferocious beasts do not refuse their young: and yet such monsters, monsters guilty of a crime at which all nature revolts, are daily acquitted, if the surgeon, who has seen the child after its death, declares that it could have been still-born; or even, as it happened in a case too recent to have been forgotten; if the woman in the delivery has been able accidentally to kill her child.

There may have been unlucky instances where the administration of justice may have been influenced in certain things by foreign causes, or a general prejudice; but we do not believe, and we can assert, that in cases where sentence of life or death was to be pronounced, sex has never been able to establish the least difference to the prejudice of females. We can assert, moreover, that no such monstrous idea could ever have entered into the mind of an Englishman, and the physicians, jurists and judges cannot be accused of it without the blackest calumny. Doubtless it may sometimes happen that the guilty escape; but if there be any error, it is better

that it should be in their acquittal, than in their condemnation ; for it is precisely on this principle, that it is better to err by too much indulgence, than by severity, that the safety of those innocently accused rests."

This letter expresses the true principles of judicial legislation ; it breathes the sentiments of humanity, but it does not at all prove that the females may not have cause to complain of the application of the law ; it does not prove that those guilty of murdering their wives are not very frequently acquitted in England, even against the intent of the law ; but what it evidently does prove, and this is precisely the deduction I wish to draw from it, is, that murders of every kind, and infanticide, are common in the Three Kingdoms to an extraordinary degree.

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If infanticide were confined to the description mentioned in the above letter, where it is allowed that the crime is unhappily very common, the causes of its frequent repetition would be attributed to a fault in the legislation of the country. But a crime of this nature is committed daily, under circumstances which shows the barbarous character of the English people, and in a great

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CHAP. XXVII.

Orphans—Foundlings—Bastards.

THROUGHOUT England, the parishes are obliged by law to nourish, bring up, and provide with a place, the orphans, bastards and foundlings, who are born within their precincts, or which belong to them. At the same time the parishes have a right to apply to the father of the bastards if he be known, that he may be obliged to defray their expenses.

This law is wise in principle, but is become more than impolitic ; it is at the present day immoral in its application. The provisions of this law ought to have been ameliorated on account of the increasing depravity of manners ; establishments ought to have been formed similar to the lying-in and foundling hospitals of France. The French law has prevented infanticide, the English law encourages it, or at least is far enough from preventing it. It is generally allowed that the greater part of the infanticides of this kind, is owing to the provisions made concerning the parishes. As soon as a poor girl is suspected of pregnancy, the overseers of the parish to which she belongs, and whose parish claim to her family is established, arrest her, and carry her before a magistrate. She is forced to declare under oath, on the Bible, who is the father of her child. The father named, is immediately arrested in his turn, led before the magistrate by virtue of a warrant, and obliged either to marry her, or pay a sum which is never less than twenty-five pounds sterling ; sometimes the sum is very considerable, by reason of the known or supposed fortune of the avowed father. This sum is employed in defraying

the expenses of her accouchement, and the support and education of the child.

In case of a refusal to marry, the sum once fixed, must be paid immediately into the hands of the overseers, otherwise the father is imprisoned for debt, and is not released till payment is made or secured by bail. If he be too poor to pay, they content themselves with the engagement which he makes with his bail to discharge the parish expenses by means of a weekly reservation of part of his wages, until the child shall have attained the age of seven years, an age when he may be of some service, and when he will be bound to a master for ten years.

In every parish, a division is annually made of all the bastard and orphan children, who may be seven years old, amongst the families of the freeholders, masters of trades, or farmers. No one can avoid this charge imposed upon him by bastardy and debauchery; but the rich people get clear of it, when their turn comes, by means of a small sum which they give some tradesman to take the child. The latter generally takes them as apprentices.

The object of this parish persecution is to free themselves from a burden, which according to law falls upon their shoulders. If the girl has relations or friends whose fortune is sufficient to answer for their never requiring any thing, and if they will give security for this, then the girl is dismissed with a severe reprimand for her irregular morals, and a threat of severe punishment, long imprisonment and public penance in case of a relapse. It is unnecessary to add that all these terrifying precautions have no regard to rich girls, all eyes are completely closed upon their conduct. In case of indigence, the parish right allows every family who have proved their claim to it, to be classed amongst the poor, and to receive weekly, according to the amount of taxes, a sum sufficient to en-

and examined at Ambleside. The bloody knife with which he had committed the deed, was found upon him."

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In this description of crimes there is one which is found almost every day in the papers ; that of children of the lower orders, which neighbours have taken from their parents to place them in houses provided for orphan children, because they were tired of the cries of these unfortunate little creatures who were bruised, exhausted with blows, and dying with hunger, although the father and mother by the profits of their daily labour were in a situation to support their family. Fathers and mothers also very frequently abandon their children. The public prints of November 2d, 1813, promise a reward of two guineas per man, in behalf of the city of Manchester, to whoever shall bring back and deliver forty married men, who in a short time had abandoned their wives and children, and left them to be taken care of by the parish. This custom of abandoning families increases, say the English editors, in an alarming manner throughout England.

CHAP. XXVII.

Orphans—Foundlings—Bastards.

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This law is wise in principle, but is become more than impolitic ; it is at the present day immoral in its application. The provisions of this law ought to have been ameliorated on account of the increasing depravity of manners ; establishments ought to have been formed similar to the lying-in and foundling hospitals of France. The French law has prevented infanticide, the English law encourages it, or at least is far enough from preventing it. It is generally allowed that the greater part of the infanticides of this kind, is owing to the provisions made concerning the parishes. As soon as a poor girl is suspected of pregnancy, the overseers of the parish to which she belongs, and whose parish claim to her family is established, arrest her, and carry her before a magistrate. She is forced to declare under oath, on the Bible, who is the father of her child. The father named, is immediately arrested in his turn, led before the magistrate by virtue of a warrant, and obliged either to marry her, or pay a sum which is never less than twenty-five pounds sterling ; sometimes the sum is very considerable, by reason of the known or supposed fortune of the avowed father. This sum is employed in defraying

the expenses of her accouchement, and the support and education of the child.

In case of a refusal to marry, the sum once fixed, must be paid immediately into the hands of the overseers, otherwise the father is imprisoned for debt, and is not released till payment is made or secured by bail. If he be too poor to pay, they content themselves with the engagement which he makes with his bail to discharge the parish expenses by means of a weekly reservation of part of his wages, until the child shall have attained the age of seven years, an age when he may be of some service, and when he will be bound to a master for ten years.

In every parish, a division is annually made of all the bastard and orphan children, who may be seven years old, amongst the families of the freeholders, masters of trades, or farmers. No one can avoid this charge imposed upon him by bastardy and debauchery; but the rich people get clear of it, when their turn comes, by means of a small sum which they give some tradesman to take the child. The latter generally takes them as apprentices.

The object of this parish persecution is to free themselves from a burden, which according to law falls upon their shoulders. If the girl has relations or friends whose fortune is sufficient to answer for their never requiring any thing, and if they will give security for this, then the girl is dismissed with a severe reprimand for her irregular morals, and a threat of severe punishment, long imprisonment and public penance in case of a relapse. It is unnecessary to add that all these terrifying precautions have no regard to rich girls, all eyes are completely closed upon their conduct. In case of indigence, the parish right allows every family who have proved their claim to it, to be classed amongst the poor, and to receive weekly, according to the amount of taxes, a sum sufficient to en-

able them to subsist. It is proportioned to the size of the family, and its necessities; but they deduct from it the gain which the father of the family ought to obtain by his industry. This father, with his wife, when they grow old, are received without paying rent, into small tenements, known by the name of *Alms-houses*, which are built and supported by means of subscriptions and donations made in the parishes.

The poor tax is extremely burdensome, and is paid by all the freeholders, farmers and tenants on the amount of their rents, farms, and incomes. In parishes the least incumbered, this tax amounts to about nine or ten per cent. on the produce of the leases, and their landed income. There are some parishes of five thousand inhabitants, where two thousand persons are enrolled on the poor list. It has been asserted in Parliament, that the parish of Hackney, near London, was in this situation.

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is discovered, if she has not been able to deposit her burden in the parish where she has no right to claim assistance, she then pays bitterly the forfeit of her error; she is confined in the *workhouse*. Painful tasks are imposed upon her, and she is compelled to do public penance. This consists in being presented on Sunday at church, during the morning and evening service, seated on a bench opposite the preacher, separate from the congregation, and clad in coarse garments of which the parts are of two qualities, and particoloured. In this situation she is reprimanded at the end of the sermon in the severest terms. This is, as may be seen, a sort of honourable amends, which finishes her dishonour and loss of reputation.

The parish to which such a girl does not belong, but in which the birth has taken place, has a right also to exact the name of the father, in order to obtain indemnity, and for this purpose to make use of those means against the supposed father, which could be employed by the parish to which she belongs.

This right which the parishes possess of arresting, persecuting, and tormenting girls in this situation, is most incontestably the cause of the multitude of abortions and infanticides. The evil does not stop there, it makes room for other abuses, or rather for other crimes, for it is very difficult to attack the oath of the girl, although it may bear the marks of an evident falsehood. This oath, declaring the paternity, is always implicitly believed.

The anecdote is well known of the girl, who being urged by an old and gouty magistrate to name the father of her child, being overcome with threats, swore that the magistrate himself was the father, and obliged him, in consequence of it, to pay the parish charges, although it was a matter of public notoriety, that the girl hardly knew the name of the magistrate. Such *mistakes* are daily made under oath.

The oftener a young girl who has given up all claims to bashfulness, speculates upon her pregnancy and the declaration of paternity, she makes a profitable business of it, and becomes a source of alarm to those of her lovers whom she has honoured with her perfidious favours. Only the poorest or least generous is then named. Sometimes to ease her conscience under this false oath, or to spare a dear lover whom she cannot marry, and who buys himself off by the sacrifice of his money for her benefit, for she has nothing to do with the sum paid to the parish, the *delicate young lady* recalls some man who is captivated with her charms, and who has heretofore been rejected, and if this happy mortal falls into the snare, he is instantly declared to be the *father*. All sons of a respectable family get rid of the affair in this manner. The indulgent mother without any hesitation becomes the mediatrix between her son and a dissolute servant girl, and some blockhead of a servant is made the father without any difficulty.

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ed the favours of the mother, to present themselves of their own accord before the public, and then they oppose perjury to perjury, a custom common in England in most of the disputes which arise between individuals. The parish in this case is charged with the child without any indemnity, and the girl is confined and punished as a common prostitute. To pay and be silent, is the best course that can be pursued should any one be charged with paternity by a girl who is known to live even in a place of prostitution.

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CHAP. XXVIII.

English Children.

CHILDREN, a philosopher has observed, are little men; they possess all their vices, and time will develop them.

I have been a neighbour to schools of English boys and girls ; I have boarded in a pretty numerous school of English boys, and I have never seen them noisy, thoughtless or dissipated like ours. In their hours of recreation, one would hardly be led to believe himself in the neighbourhood of forty or fifty children who were assembled together, and at liberty. What the good French women say of their little pupils, may with perfect propriety be applied to these : "*It is so long since I have heard them, surely they have been doing some mischief.*" The fears of the good woman are almost always verified.

If an animal is within reach of young English scholars, they are sure to maim it ; they undermine a wall to make it sink ; they tear off the bark of a tree to kill it ; they uncover the roof that the house may rot, and the inhabitants suffer. They are not seen heedlessly kicking about the walks of a garden, breaking off the tops of valuable plants as they run along, and overturning the pots which contained them. They are not what our good parents call *rattle brained*. The English school-boys are cool, deliberate and still. They are almost born with that spirit of order and method which they will have when men ; but they do mischief for the pleasure it affords them. If a young girl of the common people walks out with her younger sisters, she is sure to plague them. If two children are near any ditch, unless they are watched, the stronger will pitch the weaker into it.

A miller, who lodged in my neighbourhood, had a hog killed in his yard, in 1812. He had three children aged nine, seven, and four years. The butcher quitted his work a few minutes to go to breakfast, and left his instruments. The children had seen him at work, and they wished to play hog ; the youngest was stretched upon the trestle where the animal had been killed, the second held him, and the eldest thrust the knife into his throat

in the same manner as he had seen the butcher treat the hog. The child expired. The two guilty brothers were frightened, and hid themselves under the wheel of the mill while it was at rest. It was set in motion a moment after, and the two children were crushed to death.

In 1813, two boys, aged ten and eight years, were playing at cricket; this game consists in striking a ball of strong leather with a sort of battledoor; it must reach a certain goal; the adversary being also furnished with a bat, waits for the ball and knocks it back if possible. The two children of whom I am speaking, grew angry, and the strongest fell upon the other and broke his skull with the bat...

At Plymouth, April 2, 1814, a youngster of thirteen was killing his younger brother and sister; the mother came to their assistance, and the monster struck her with the knife he had in his hand. Her intestines were penetrated, and she expired that night.

Such accidents happen by hundreds every year, and in every county. They are classed in the chapter of accidents, although these crimes are the effect of black and deliberate wickedness. There is annually a long list of children murdered by other children; sometimes a child is pitched under the wheels of a coach that is passing, thrown into a heated oven, pushed off a bridge without railing into a torrent, &c. &c.

I one day found myself walking in a sort of park inclosed with hedges, and crossed by a little pathway. I had obtained the special favour and liberty of walking there. This park was filled with rabbits. A little boy about ten years old approached me with a bag. I perceived something moving in the bag, and said to the poucher with a smile, You unlucky rogue, you have been stealing rabbits. "God forbid, and bless you sir, I must respect the property of another as I should wish mine to

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that it should be in their acquittal, than in their condemnation ; for it is precisely on this principle, that it is better to err by too much indulgence, than by severity, that the safety of those innocently accused rests."

This letter expresses the true principles of judicial legislation ; it breathes the sentiments of humanity, but it does not at all prove that the females may not have cause to complain of the application of the law ; it does not prove that those guilty of murdering their wives are not very frequently acquitted in England, even against the intent of the law ; but what it evidently does prove, and this is precisely the deduction I wish to draw from it, is, that murders of every kind, and infanticide, are common in the Three Kingdoms to an extraordinary degree.

Almost every infanticide of the nature of those of which the letter speaks, have been preceded with unsuccessful attempts to produce abortion. If instances of abortion are numberless, there are other examples not less horrid of this dreadful depravity ; these are the victims which the unskilful use of too violent remedies, hurries to the tomb with the germ which they wished to destroy. All the surgeons are merchant druggists, and for the most part profoundly ignorant. They never refuse the benefit of their lancet to whoever applies for it, and still less the sale of their drugs, from arsenic to opium. They sell to whoever wishes to purchase, without troubling themselves as to the use about to be made of them.

If infanticide were confined to the description mentioned in the above letter, where it is allowed that the crime is unhappily very common, the causes of its frequent repetition would be attributed to a fault in the legislation of the country. But a crime of this nature is committed daily, under circumstances which shows the barbarous character of the English people, and in a great

number of cases where the young females cannot say, as a sort of palliation, that they wished to preserve their reputation by destroying the fruit of their folly, or of a momentary aberration.

The young lad mentioned in the letter, furnished the example of a child aged fourteen years, murdered with a cane by his own father. The latter gave as a reason for his conduct, the dislike of his son for the profession to which he had destined him.

At the Easter Assizes, 1809, three wives of soldiers in the army of General Moore, were hung at Winchester. These English women had eleven children, the oldest under ten years, and the youngest hardly eight months. These children were an obstacle in the way of their following their husbands into Spain, where they expected to make a fortune by pillage; they therefore cut the throats of the whole eleven, and threw them into the river.

I knew at Ashburn, in Derbyshire, a young boy and girl, who alone remained of a family of nine children; the mother, with the seven others, had been killed with a hatchet by the father, who has since been hung. The two who were spared, were the eldest, one eleven and the other nine years old. When the massacre of their family took place, they were absent employed in a cotton manufactory.

A man who lived at service in London, in 1812, wishing to contract a new marriage, carried to his wife some meal mixed with arsenic, of which she made a pudding. She and her child were poisoned, as the monster had intended. The bad taste of the pudding had made them somewhat uneasy. A neighbour who was consulted had put some in her mouth, and spit it out again; a dog to whom they were advised to give some to eat, died, as did the mother and child. This man was hung in 1812.

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CHAP. XXVII.

Orphans—Foundlings—Bastards.

THROUGHOUT England, the parishes are obliged by law to nourish, bring up, and provide with a place, the orphans, bastards and foundlings, who are born within their precincts, or which belong to them. At the same time the parishes have a right to apply to the father of the bastards if he be known, that he may be obliged to defray their expenses.

This law is wise in principle, but is become more than impolitic ; it is at the present day immoral in its application. The provisions of this law ought to have been ameliorated on account of the increasing depravity of manners ; establishments ought to have been formed similar to the lying-in and foundling hospitals of France. The French law has prevented infanticide, the English law encourages it, or at least is far enough from preventing it. It is generally allowed that the greater part of the infanticides of this kind, is owing to the provisions made concerning the parishes. As soon as a poor girl is suspected of pregnancy, the overseers of the parish to which she belongs, and whose parish claim to her family is established, arrest her, and carry her before a magistrate. She is forced to declare under oath, on the Bible, who is the father of her child. The father named, is immediately arrested in his turn, led before the magistrate by virtue of a warrant, and obliged either to marry her, or pay a sum which is never less than twenty-five pounds sterling ; sometimes the sum is very considerable, by reason of the known or supposed fortune of the avowed father. This sum is employed in defraying

the expenses of her accouchement, and the support and education of the child.

In case of a refusal to marry, the sum once fixed, must be paid immediately into the hands of the overseers, otherwise the father is imprisoned for debt, and is not released till payment is made or secured by bail. If he be too poor to pay, they content themselves with the engagement which he makes with his bail to discharge the parish expenses by means of a weekly reservation of part of his wages, until the child shall have attained the age of seven years, an age when he may be of some service, and when he will be bound to a master for ten years.

In every parish, a division is annually made of all the bastard and orphan children, who may be seven years old, amongst the families of the freeholders, masters of trades, or farmers. No one can avoid this charge imposed upon him by bastardy and debauchery; but the rich people get clear of it, when their turn comes, by means of a small sum which they give some tradesman to take the child. The latter generally takes them as apprentices.

The object of this parish persecution is to free themselves from a burden, which according to law falls upon their shoulders. If the girl has relations or friends whose fortune is sufficient to answer for their never requiring any thing, and if they will give security for this, then the girl is dismissed with a severe reprimand for her irregular morals, and a threat of severe punishment, long imprisonment and public penance in case of a relapse. It is unnecessary to add that all these terrifying precautions have no regard to rich girls, all eyes are completely closed upon their conduct. In case of indigence, the parish right allows every family who have proved their claim to it, to be classed amongst the poor, and to receive weekly, according to the amount of taxes, a sum sufficient to en-

able them to subsist. It is proportioned to the size of the family, and its necessities; but they deduct from it the gain which the father of the family ought to obtain by his industry. This father, with his wife, when they grow old, are received without paying rent, into small tenements, known by the name of *Alms-houses*, which are built and supported by means of subscriptions and donations made in the parishes.

The poor tax is extremely burdensome, and is paid by all the freeholders, farmers and tenants on the amount of their rents, farms, and incomes. In parishes the least incumbered, this tax amounts to about nine or ten per cent. on the produce of the leases, and their landed income. There are some parishes of five thousand inhabitants, where two thousand persons are enrolled on the poor list. It has been asserted in Parliament, that the parish of Hackney, near London, was in this situation.

If a poor girl who has become pregnant has not the parish right, that is to say, if her father and mother have not acquired that right by having resided there a certain time, by renting a house, or part of a house, or by the payment of parish charges, this girl is confined in the house of correction for several days; she is then driven away, and goes to be delivered in the parish where she belongs, or else she continues to wander about the country, and is driven from place to place like a deer. If the unfortunate girl be too distant from the parish where she has a right of residence, or of naturalization, if I may use the expression, from her very situation she is led into crime. As the parish where the child is born is charged with the care of it, the wretched girl tries every method to conceal herself from the public eye, and be delivered in secret. If she succeed, she lays her infant during the night at the door of some rich person, but often kills it, and then throws it into some unfrequented place. If she

is discovered, if she has not been able to deposit her burden in the parish where she has no right to claim assistance, she then pays bitterly the forfeit of her error; she is confined in the *workhouse*. Painful tasks are imposed upon her, and she is compelled to do public penance. This consists in being presented on Sunday at church, during the morning and evening service, seated on a bench opposite the preacher, separate from the congregation, and clad in coarse garments of which the parts are of two qualities, and particoloured. In this situation she is reprimanded at the end of the sermon in the severest terms. This is, as may be seen, a sort of honourable amends, which finishes her dishonour and loss of reputation.

The parish to which such a girl does not belong, but in which the birth has taken place, has a right also to exact the name of the father, in order to obtain indemnity, and for this purpose to make use of those means against the supposed father, which could be employed by the parish to which she belongs.

This right which the parishes possess of arresting, persecuting, and tormenting girls in this situation, is most incontestably the cause of the multitude of abortions and infanticides. The evil does not stop there, it makes room for other abuses, or rather for other crimes, for it is very difficult to attack the oath of the girl, although it may bear the marks of an evident falsehood. This oath, declaring the paternity, is always implicitly believed.

The anecdote is well known of the girl, who being urged by an old and gouty magistrate to name the father of her child, being overcome with threats, swore that the magistrate himself was the father, and obliged him, in consequence of it, to pay the parish charges, although it was a matter of public notoriety, that the girl hardly knew the name of the magistrate. Such *mistakes* are daily made under oath.

The oftener a young girl who has given up all claims to bashfulness, speculates upon her pregnancy and the declaration of paternity, she makes a profitable business of it, and becomes a source of alarm to those of her lovers whom she has honoured with her perfidious favours. Only the poorest or least generous is then named. Sometimes to ease her conscience under this false oath, or to spare a dear lover whom she cannot marry, and who buys himself off by the sacrifice of his money for her benefit, for she has nothing to do with the sum paid to the parish, the *delicate young lady* recalls some man who is captivated with her charms, and who has heretofore been rejected, and if this happy mortal falls into the snare, he is instantly declared to be the *father*. All sons of a respectable family get rid of the affair in this manner. The indulgent mother without any hesitation becomes the mediatrix between her son and a dissolute servant girl, and some blockhead of a servant is made the father without any difficulty.

Many French officers, more unfortunate than criminal, have been declared fathers since the commencement of the war, and consequently condemned to the expense of supporting children which did not belong to them. It was in vain to prove that they were not the fathers, or to ask leave to prove that at least the paternity was divided between a great number of suitors; silence was immediately imposed upon them upon the offer of such proof, which is not admitted. On the contrary, if unluckily in these delicate circumstances, any words are dropped which imply any thing to the disparagement of the mother's honour or good fame, she obtains considerable damages; for it is always according to your supposed fortune that all legal decisions, especially in affairs of this kind, are made. In case the paternity becomes doubtful, it becomes necessary for those who have shar-

ed the favours of the mother, to present themselves of their own accord before the public, and then they oppose perjury to perjury, a custom common in England in most of the disputes which arise between individuals. The parish in this case is charged with the child without any indemnity, and the girl is confined and punished as a common prostitute. To pay and be silent, is the best course that can be pursued should any one be charged with paternity by a girl who is known to live even in a place of prostitution.

We think, moreover, that infanticide would be less common in England, if Parliament would suppress those indecent prosecutions, authorized by the laws, against girls who are pregnant or suspected to be so, in order to oblige them to declare the father. Public establishments, in which women should be admitted at the time of delivery, and in which illegitimate or foundling children should be received, would put a stop to great evils, and prevent much scandal. The different governments of Europe who have established such institutions, have had the satisfaction to see infanticide either cease entirely, or become less frequent in their dominions. If this crime did not yield to such means in England, it must in this case be attributed to the natural perversity of that nation; their ferocious manners, it is true, do not resemble those of any other people.

CHAP. XXVIII.

English Children.

CHILDREN, a philosopher has observed, are little men; they possess all their vices, and time will develop them.

ces I relate. These sales are very common in every part of England; the purchaser, always a widower or single man, is generally a lover of the commodity sold, and is well acquainted with it. She is only brought into the market place for the sake of form. The wife thus purchased, becomes the lawful wife of the buyer, the children who spring from this connexion, are considered in every respect legitimate; the law against adultery and bigamy cannot affect the husband or wife thus separated, and who live in their new connexions. It however, sometimes happens that the purchaser of the woman is married over again before the church, that the condition of their children may be secured against all dispute. Lady ***, acknowledged the lawful wife of Lord ***, is thus situated; and the lord, having bought her of her first husband, who was his footman, and from whom he had taken her away by force, has caused the marriage to be acknowledged by the church.

Bigamy, or rather polygamy is frequent in England. It is not uncommon to see a man with two or three wives. The license to perform the ceremony of marriage, the great facility with which this connexion can be made, and more especially, the ease with which it may be dissolved, necessarily render bigamy frequent in this kingdom.

In regard to the sale at Ashburn, I will remark, that the magistrate, being informed that it would take place, wished to prevent it. Constables were dispatched to drive off the seller, purchaser, and the woman for sale, when they should make their appearance in the market place to perform the ceremony, but the populace covered the constables with mud, and dispersed them with stones. I was acquainted with the magistrate, and I desired to obtain some information in regard to the opposition he had endeavoured to make to the performance of the cere-

mony, and the right which he assumed at that conjuncture. I could obtain no other than this : " Although the real object of my sending the constables, was to prevent the scandalous sale, the apparent motive was that of keeping the peace, which people coming to the market in a sort of tumult, would have a tendency to disturb. As to the act of selling itself, I do not think I have a right to prevent it, or even to oppose any obstacle to it, because it rests upon a custom preserved by the people, of which perhaps it would be dangerous to deprive them by any law for that purpose."

How to reconcile the transmission of such a custom from the barbarous ages down to our time, with the christian religion, especially with the Roman Catholic religion, which was for a long time the prevailing religion in England, I shall not undertake to determine. I shall only observe that this infamous custom has been kept up without interruption, that it is continually practised ; that if any county magistrates, being informed of a proposed sale, have tried to interrupt it, by sending constables, or other officers to the place of sale, the populace have always dispersed them, and maintained what they consider their right, in the same manner as I have seen it done at Ashburn.

Besides my evidence of the fact which I assert, I can cite authorities which can remove every doubt ; I mean the public papers. The editor of one of these periodical papers, in the number of February 18, 1814, thus expresses himself :

" A scene of a disgusting and very reprehensible nature, although authorized by custom, took place on Wednesday morning, in the castle market at Canterbury. A postillion, named Samuel Wallis, led his wife to the market place, having tied a halter around her neck, and fastened her to the posts which are used for that purpose for cattle. She was then offered by him at public auc-

tion. Another postillion, according to a previous agreement between them, presented himself, and bought the wife thus exposed for sale, for a gallon of beer and a shilling, in presence of a large number of spectators. The seller had been married six months to this woman, who is only nineteen years old:"

Speaking of those sales which the people designate by the name of *Horn Markets*, the editor does not always assume the tone of morality which he affects in the article above quoted. The following is a proof of it.

"SALE OF WIVES.

"A gallant son of Mars, of Nottingham, by the name of Linker, already on the wrong side of fifty, still retains the power of getting into the good graces of the belles, although they may not be exactly what are called prudes. The wife of a militia-man named Toone is reckoned in the number of his conquests. Toone being at Nottingham on a furlough, and thinking he had reason to complain of the fidelity of his other half, resolved to get rid of her by auction, trying nevertheless to make as much as possible of his merchandize. The wife, who was only a burden to him, was exposed for sale in the swine market on Saturday evening, and set up at auction for three-pence, when no other amateur presenting but the noble son of Mars, who was very willing to raise the bid to six-pence, she was delivered to him at that price, with the halter about her neck. The numerous spectators admired, without envy, at seeing the amiable spoil delivered into the amorous hands of her purchaser."

Statesman, February 26, 1814.

I once thought the sale of wives by their husbands was alone authorized. The sale of husbands by their wives, although very rare, is not however unknown, and much as the judges condemn the sales made by men, they no more dare to declare them null than they do female auctions, as I am about to show.

"On Saturday evening an affair of rather an extraordinary nature was brought before his Lordship the Mayor of Drogheda. One Margaret Collins presented a complaint against her husband, who had left her to live with another woman. In his defence, the husband declared that his wife was of a very violent disposition, which her conduct before the magistrate fully proved; that in her anger she had offered to sell him for two pence to her in whose keeping he then was; that she had sold and delivered him for three halfpence; that on payment of the sum, he had been led off by the purchaser; that several times, his wife, the seller, in her fits of anger had cruelly bitten him; that he still bore terrible marks of it (which he showed) although it was several months since he belonged to her. The woman who purchased, having been sent for to give her evidence, corroborated every fact, confirmed the bargain, and declared that she every day grew more and more satisfied with the acquisition; that she did not believe there was any law which could command him to separate from her, because the right of a wife to sell a husband with whom she was dissatisfied, to another woman who was willing to take up with him, ought to be equal to the husband's right, whose power of selling was acknowledged, especially when there was a mutual agreement, as in the present instance. This plea, full of good sense and justice, so exasperated the plaintiff, that, without paying any regard to his lordship, she flew at the faces of her antagonists, and would have mangled them with her teeth and nails, if they had not been separated. The Mayor, after having advised each of them to alter their conduct, dismissed them. The crowd was immense, and every one appeared to be highly diverted with the singular trial."

Statesman, March 18, 1814.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Gaming.

ALL the youth of family play very high; the houses to which they resort are upheld, and frequented by persons of the highest standing. The police can gain no admittance to these places, and consequently, cheating is there carried on with unexampled impunity. A citizen who had just inherited an estate whose income was twenty thousand pounds sterling, lost with a noble lord three hundred thousand pounds sterling, at one sitting, in March, 1813. The papers gave an account of this loss; they stated that his lordship had had an astonishing run of luck in his favour, without meeting any reverse; that his lordship, desirous to satisfy his antagonist that every thing had been honourably done, insisted upon cutting the dice in two, so jealous was he that the company suspected they were lead. A lord who finds himself obliged to descend to such a trial, to clear himself from a dishonourable suspicion, must have an uneasy conscience. It is an avowal that he has the honour to live amongst knaves, and an acknowledgment that it is not perfectly clear that he is not one himself.

Notwithstanding the laws enacted against public gaming houses, play is carried to an enormous extent in England, and the clubs devoted to this infamous passion are daily multiplying. England is regulated as to its morality by the maxim, that *Skill is better than knowledge*, so that every gamester has his peculiar sleight. Bets are exceedingly numerous, and are made upon every probability, and under every circumstance; they hold

a distinguished rank in the history of chances, and all have what is called *la botte secrete*. Whoever has at any time frequented New Market, a place where horse-races, cock-fights, &c. are held, knows that every bet which is made on the races by the princes and chief nobility, has always some catch or double meaning attached to it, and this is proved by the precautions, explanations, endless repetitions, interpretations, and the meaning of the words in which the bets are expressed. A notary public draws them up, and yet, notwithstanding so many precautions, the gamester who wins, almost always owes his success to the knavery of his jockey rather than to the speed of his horse. The master, far from being ashamed at having any concern in the address or trick of the jockey, boasts of having planned it, or of only having had recourse to it, for the sake of its wit. If the bet be declared binding, the skilful gamester, though he be a prince of the blood, loses none of his consequence, and bears off his money in triumph; he is considered a *very clever fellow* by his friends, and is mentioned with eulogiums when he ought to be branded with contempt. The enormity of the bets, and the manner of making them, have contributed not a little to bring horse racing into notice in England. At present the premiums of agricultural societies produce the same effect; nothing now remains of bets but their immorality. Besides, it is not a rare sight to see the English *philosophers* oblige both the horse and jockey to submit to a severe regimen, and to practise refinements of cruelty upon the animal and man, which prove to what a degree the English are naturally greedy after money. Provided the bet is won, it matters not if both horse and jockey die at the goal.

CHAP. XXXV.

Drunkenness.

DRUNKENNESS is a vice of soil and climate, which is almost considered a virtue in England. It would be difficult to calculate to what a degree this intemperance vitiates the morals of the nation, to the depravation of which, the crowded state in which families live in the interior, adds its destructive influence. From the most wretched class, who only occupy a single room, to the shopkeeper whose shop and parlour discover an appearance of competency, the father, mother, and children, who are almost always numerous, have but one bed chamber which is common to the whole family. Five or six persons, although of different sexes, sometimes lie in the same bed, the youngest with the father and mother.

There, no sort of decency is observed; the master of the family, always drunken on Sunday, and often several days in the week, sets before girls who have attained to the age of eighteen or twenty years, and boys of fifteen or sixteen, an example of the most shameless brutality, and which is only the prelude to scenes still more scandalous, which the indiscreet tongue of the children knows not how to conceal.

How many *Hams* would deserve the curse of the modern Noahs when they awake, if it was not more necessary to curse those, who by the most shameful example of infamy, pervert at their source the virgin manners of their innocent family.

In a country where the mask only of religion is found, and where the priests have no influence over the morals, all my countrymen, as well as myself, have observed,

that this example had corrupted many families to such a degree that brothers of fourteen were not unfrequently guilty of incest with a sister of thirteen or fifteen, and it is generally known that this dreadful commerce is continued until one or the other takes a *sweetheart*, a circumstance which takes place at an early age, on account of the almost unrestrained liberty of the daughters.

The example of the highest classes is no better. The Englishman who is well bred, or what is actually called a gentleman, at London, as well as the Englishman who belongs to the very dregs of the people, are gallants only when they are intoxicated. The natural consequence of this custom is, that ladies of distinction, as well as fish mongers, take drunkards under their especial protection.

When I speak of gallantry, I am far from meaning that delicate care, those choice attentions, that modesty in conduct and reserve in conversation, in the very desires, and even in the nonexpression of the desires, of which the French in general make so good a use; a gallantry which is in some measure introduced amongst every other nation in Europe. English gallantry in a state of intoxication is merely what it would be every where else in the same situation; an obscene impertinence, displayed in expressions and gestures the most grossly indecent, without any regard to the company, whoever they may be.

I was carried home one day after dinner, by a very respectable widow, who maintained a distinguished rank in the world. According to custom the company had drunken copiously. She had her daughter in the carriage beside her, a young female of about eighteen, whose *sweetheart* sat beside me on the forward seat. Never in any place would a collection of hussars or grenadiers conduct in such a scandalous manner as did this *sweet-*

heart. Some expressions of indignation which I could not repress, although the evening had set in, led the mother to perceive the uneasiness which I witnessed at seeing her calmly occupied in refitting the disordered garments of her daughter. She was satisfied with observing to me, and repeating it with a sort of confusion, "*The poor man is in liquor.*"

This lascivious animal, whom I had seen in the morning as silent amongst the women as he was vulgar in the evening, did not open his mouth during a ride of five miles, except to observe that it was fine weather, the wind was high, or the country fine. I mention these particulars because a foreign traveller in England, in order to govern himself accordingly, should know that he may ride a hundred and fifty miles in a carriage, without hearing any thing said except these three phrases, or words equivalent, which are repeated a thousand times during the same journey.

I did think the door would be closed against this drunkard, or that at least the mother would prudently take measures to prevent him from committing such indecencies in future; but nothing of this was done. I am even convinced, by journeying through England, that they conduct in the same manner every where else, not only in coaches, but in drawing rooms also, when intoxicated; and I have concluded that this disorderly conduct which shocked me so sensibly, was as the English say, *A thing of course.*

Those acquainted with their customs, know that dinner among the gentry does not terminate honourably, unless after eating, the table is amply supplied with decanters which must go round, and are replenished as soon as emptied. The women are careful to withdraw after the first glass is drank; the cloth is then removed, and convenient receptacles are placed in the corners of the hall of en-

tertainment, or under the windows, to which the drunkards have recourse to disgorge at their ease what they have taken too much. After having passed an hour or two in this delightful exercise, during which, as soon as they become heated, toasts are drank which are often as obscene as ridiculous, the young gentlemen join the company of the ladies who are taking tea in the drawing room.

Our country houses of entertainment have good company compared with this bacchanalian practice, which is an essential part of living in England.

The English attach a high importance to the honour of being able to get drunk. Even the exorbitant taxes imposed upon wines seem to increase this importance; thus, to designate a gentleman, a fine man, the *Ne plus ultra* of his excellence, they make use of the following phrase. "*He is a true gentleman; he can enjoy his bottle every day; he cracks one daily with his friends.*"

The royal dukes, sons of his majesty George III. from the Prince Regent to the youngest of his brothers, do not swerve in the least from the noble practices of their countrymen. They are not seldom brought home from the taverns to their palaces, drunk, every evening, or rather every morning. The same carriage seldom serves twice in succession; the cushions and linings must be changed. The cloth is generally stained with the liquors with which their highnesses bountifully soaked them, and these stains prove both their intemperance and filthiness.

It is the prevailing opinion moreover, that the state of debauchery in which the princes live, is the consequence of a system of education, planned by Lord Chatham, and prosecuted by his son, William Pitt, whose object it is to degrade them, and render them unfit to take any part in the affairs of government, which might be pre-

judicial to the ministers ; and even to hinder them from obtaining by private virtues, in default of talents, that public regard, which might balance the ministerial power in Parliament, or in some measure embarrass it, if these virtues became the mask to conceal an ambition which great talents might support. If Lord Chatham drew up this plan, the honour of the invention belongs to the government of Venice, whose policy consisted in encouraging the vices and debauchery of the ecclesiastics of the Venitian state, to weaken by public contempt, the danger arising from that *esprit de corps* and domination which characterises the Roman Catholic church.

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in January 1814, honoured the Duke of Rutland by repairing to Belvoir Castle, to hold one of his sons at the baptismal font ; he was accompanied by his brother the Duke of York. The papers give the following account of the entertainments which took place at the castle upon this occasion, under the title of

“BELVOIR CASTLE FESTIVITY.

“The house contained more than two hundred individuals, who bore a part in the rejoicings. The cistern of punch, under the direction of the steward, Mr. Douglas, was served up in the antichamber, and on Tuesday a number of brave fellows amongst the servants and tenants lay dead drunk on the floor. Every entrance to the house presented the appearance of a castle taken by assault. The healths of the young marquis, the noble host, and the Prince Regent, were drunk to the last. Most of the guests, having fallen into all the subterraneous passages of the castle, did not begin to show any symptoms of life until the next day. The punch was not entirely finished at ten the next day, and ocular witnesses assert, that the castle, in the drawing rooms, as well as in the

lobbies, not only had the appearance of a place carried by storm, but also that of the most disgusting orgie, and the most shameful debauchery, etc.”

It must be confessed that this is an entertainment in the nineteenth century, truly worthy of the heir of a powerful throne. Frenchmen ! this is the country so much praised for its urbanity, and beneath which some writers hired by England, and hostile to their country, have pretended to rank you.

The English, in general, are only amorous when intoxicated ; but the moment of desire, is often, according to the character of the individual, the moment of desolation to the family. A great number of women and children are every year killed or maimed by intemperate husbands and fathers. These murders, with which the papers are filled, are sometimes accompanied by a recital of atrocious circumstances of which no other nation can have any idea, and which are only met with amongst this cruel people.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Habitual Intoxication common among Females.

THE indulgence of females in intoxication may also be attributed in part to the maxim, *Dat veniam, petitque vicissim*. I have often remarked, and a thousand others have remarked it as well as myself, that the ladies in the drawing rooms, when tea was brought forward, were in that state which is called *half seas over*, although you seldom see more than one small wine glass in the room.

The time of the retirement of these females, that is, the time which passes between leaving table and tea time, is not occupied less usefully by them, than by their

husbands. A temple more mysterious is destined to the same ceremonies; it only differs from the former in the liquor consecrated to their libations. In one, Port, Madeira, Claret and Champagne, flow with an abundance and variety proportionate to the wealth of the master of the house; in the other, the glasses must only be filled with French brandy. Being less numerous, they are more easily concealed from the view of the curious. The particulars of this delicate drinking-bout are generally revealed by the revelations of jealousy, the tattling of gossips, and often by the vivid flush of the guests. This sort of libation is performed in the most respectable room in the house, the bed chamber, where no man who is not of the family is allowed to enter.

Unmarried girls are not admitted into this circle of sobriety, and the very young married ladies are even obliged to help them kill time in the walks of the garden if the weather be fair, or in the great parlour when it is cold or wet; they are not admitted until they have passed through a sort of probation, and at a certain age, that is, about forty; a time of life at which every English woman of fashion drinks some spirit before she goes to bed, under pretence of preventing flatulency and a pain in the stomach.

Women of the lower sort are not less passionately fond of liquors. There are few women of that class who do not regularly get intoxicated whenever they can with gin or spirit; and it may be imagined, without my entering into any more details, how amiable, and good-natured such practices must make them. The love of strong liquors is carried to an incredible extent in England. When a Frenchman wishes to make this people reconciled to his native country, this people, who believe or pretend to believe that our country can produce nothing good, he need only assure them that brandy is really

the produce of France, and costs but eight pence ; for the first question of an Englishman upon tasting his bottle of brandy, is, whether this liquor really belongs to France. The reconciliation which this produces lasts no longer than the intoxication ; still it does take place, and drunkenness has never obtained so great a triumph. In fine, to finish so disgusting a picture, it is only necessary to witness a single fact, which no man who has travelled in England, a country much better known now than it was before the French revolution, will deny. Daily, and almost constantly, is seen the hideous spectacle of common women in a state of intoxication, crawling through the gutters or the mud, with a pipe in their mouth. It is as common to see women as it is to see men in this situation.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Routs—Assemblies—Good Company.

THE word *Rout* is a military term, and literally translated, it means, according to the different applications of it, disorder, confusion, pillage.

From five to six thousand cards of invitation are sent by great personages to the most distinguished families who assemble at London during the winter, to assist at a rout given by some lord or lady at some appointed day, or rather night. The register of the fashionable world has the direction of these invitations much more than any connexions in society.

The destination of every apartment is changed to prepare for a rout ; seats, gaming tables, and mirrors in abundance are substituted for beds in the sleeping rooms ; every chamber, every drawing room is thrown open and

magnificently lighted, even to the very entry, and the front of the house appears to be illuminated. The sideboards are loaded with liquors, sherbet and pastry. The persons invited, attend with remarkable punctuality; it is not only considered indispensable, but an actual duty. It is thus their respect for the master of the rout is evinced, and they can then speak in the world with a sort of pride of lady such-a-one's magnificent rout, and of the beauties who were present at it. The company are crowded, trodden upon, and elbowed about, and no one can sit down; the gaming tables which were only set for form's sake are put up, and the orchestries which are provided in the large halls are equally unemployed.

About a thousand of the cards of invitation are entrusted to the servants of the first order, who distribute them amongst the citizens, and those who assisted in the preparations. This is a refinement introduced by the vanity of the masters, who are desirous that the common people should speak with rapture in their circles of the rout to which they were *positively* invited. The fumes of pride which the noble invitation excites amongst the common people are suppressed by the lord when he is spoken to upon the subject, by this phrase which is consecrated in England: "It is my rascally valet de chambre and my foolish secretary, who have abused my invitations, by distributing them amongst the *vulgar*." I have already observed that the word *vulgar* is an epithet of contempt, by which the common class of the people, the citizens, are designated.

The greater the crowd is, the more famous the rout. If in the elbowings, the undulations, and squabbles which ensue, many glasses are shattered, or much furniture broken, the rout has surpassed, as they say, every thing that can be imagined for brilliancy, magnificence, and magnitude. The men are dressed for the rout in the

seatest manner, and the women in the most magnificent; they enter well conditioned, and depart almost ragged.

Particular care is employed in making up the rout, and the invitations are made with caution, yet there is never wanting in the collection such a number of pick-pockets, that a part of the dress of the females, even their shawls are stolen with an impudence and address, to which the most knowing and skilful only can attain; and what is still better, the papers while giving an account with a sort of admiration of lady such-a-one's delightful rout, boast with satisfaction of the skill of the thieves who were invited, and relate their exploits with scrupulous fidelity.

Though the scene is confused and disorderly within, it affords but a faint idea of what is passing without. This scene of the second order is the completion of the picture. There would be a want of harmony, all would not be as it ought to be, if the rout did not take place in the street and in the house, at the same time. A crowd of curious people, double or triple the number of those invited to the rout, fill the avenues to the house. The curious are desirous to enter and depart, and as the street where the collection is made, and the adjacent streets are filled with carriages, all the constables in the vicinity are employed in endeavouring to keep the peace. But for once, these officers, so inviolable every where else, lose all their dignity and importance.

The impatient masters are anxious to advance and bring up their carriages; the coachmen and servants are striving to open a passage for them. If on other occasions they respect the pretended dignity of footmen, they pay no regard to it now. At a word from the master, showers of fisticuffs are liberally distributed; the face, breast, and back of the constables share no better fate than those of their comrades, who are taken from the low-

est class of the vulgar. The glare of the lights illuminates the rich liveries, and splendid arms, crested with the coronet, which announce to the flogged spectators, that they may expect no redress from the master, if the combatants are his servants; that there is no hope of indemnity for legs fractured, or limbs dislocated by the trampling of the horses, or by the carriage wheels.

The cries of the sufferers reach the ears of the spectators, but they go no farther; and here is displayed, in all its grandeur, that noble English phlegm so justly admired! Every one knows that this is a necessary consequence of routs, and there is not a word to be said except by the papers, who enjoy the privilege of pitying to no purpose.

The greater the confusion, the more materials for the printers. They live sometimes a whole week upon the tumult, accidents and robberies of a single night. The more the accounts and the particulars are multiplied, the more gratifying it will be to the vanity of my lord and his lady, especially if there have been many persons maimed, and amongst them some poor people; then the romance of English sensibility commences. Poor creatures maimed! This is a felicity they would have paid for, but the good disposition of the people and the servants have procured it gratis. Her ladyship with much parade and noise, will make a modest morning visit to the greatest sufferer, a visit previously concerted, and which a large collection of people *accidentally* witness. Her ladyship is anxious to satisfy herself as to the depth of the wounds, and sometimes she even condescends to dress them herself. The papers will then ring with the incomparable generosity, the divine goodness of his lordship, and her ladyship, and their vanity is raised to the skies.

A French lady, known in the literary world by the profoundness of her understanding, and in private circles by the vivacity of her wit, was invited to a rout. When the crowd became something more than troublesome, she was asked what she thought of the rout; she answered, "*I think one cannot be boxed in better company.*" I shall not speak of the national custom of boxing, nor of the fights of cocks, and other animals, with which every one is acquainted, but shall content myself with simply expressing a hope, that these English fashions may never be introduced into France; that the vices of which I am speaking, and the crimes which I am about to relate, may continue to be unknown amongst my countrymen; that, in fine, we may be cured of our Anglomania by the account of crimes, vices, and follies, of which I give a brief but faithful sketch.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Delicacy of Language—Modesty of the Females.

READ all the English writers, and you will find that the French people, notwithstanding the appearance of a ridiculous politeness, have no delicacy in their expressions, that it is impossible for a well bred English woman to remain more than five minutes in the company of a Frenchman, if he speaks English, or she understands French, without blushing and desiring to quit the place which contains so rude a person.

The English language expresses the name of one of our garments by a periphrasis; a *chemise*, when it is for the use of a female, has a particular name. It is difficult to carry the modesty of terms any farther. Woe to the Frenchman who pronounces the word just mentioned;

every eye is cast down, every cheek suffused with blushes, and no female will ever afterwards dare to be found in his company.

The indelicate guest who at table should ask for the *thigh* of a chicken, would run the risk of never being again allowed to enter the house where this scandalous affair took place. You must ask for the *leg* of a chicken, and then you will be heard with complacency. Yet it is from such trifles, that insipid story-tellers who have only seen London a few weeks, have spoken of the nation as if they resided in the midst of them for years, have expatiated upon the chastity of English females with an emphasis worthy of themselves, and the absurdities which they have caused us to receive as oracles; in fine, they have anathematized all nations, the English excepted, and have declared that no women in the world preserve their native modesty like those of England.

The French always say more than they do; the English on the contrary say less. We have decided as to *words*, in favour of the English.

But if the writers of moral and political novels in praise of England, took the trouble to examine a little more critically the manners of this people, with whom they are as little acquainted as with China; if in attending their theatres they had understood, or asked an interpretation of most of their tragedies and comedies,* productions which amongst every nation may be considered the criterion of its morals; these Anglomaniacs would have

* Voltaire, notwithstanding the partiality for England, and hatred of his own country which pervade every page of his writings, even Voltaire, induced probably by a jealousy of trade, confesses that nothing is more obscene and immoral than the English stage, and that it is impossible for a virtuous woman to be present, without blushing at their representations, etc. He cites particular expressions, and whole scenes, for which I choose to refer the reader to his works, or to the originals, if any one is curious to consult them, rather than to repeat such obscene expressions myself.

known that there is not one of these productions (without excepting those of the modern and highly polished Sheridan,) in which are not found those double entendres, which are sometimes let fall by the performers on our camp stages for the entertainment of the populace, which the police never fail to suppress, and often punish ; that there is not one of these productions where are not found expressions, whole scenes, and almost entire acts, whose disgusting obscenity would shock the eyes and ears of our most shameless libertines ; expressions and scenes, which the young misses of all classes in England, seated beside their mothers, both hear and see without a blush.

All those chapters in which the punishment of certain crimes is recorded, or which are remarkable for any impurity of language or sentiment, are found in the Bible allowed to young ladies ; and the pages of those Bibles where such chapters are found, are the most defaced, and the most injured by use ; an incontestible proof that they have been oftenest read. I speak from what I have seen, and therefore I may be credited. This sort of experience has long since convinced me of the wisdom of the enlightened clergy who confine the Bible, which is entitled to our respect, but which it is not proper for all eyes to read, to the library of theologians.

Unfortunately it would be very easy for me to prove by incontestible anecdotes, and by legal facts, that the English females do not forget what they have read in the Holy Scriptures ; these facts would furnish the measure of their character in their application of them, and would prove how pure are their minds. But there are subjects against which legislators and judges only are permitted to remonstrate. I shall only say that it is not uncommon in England to see amongst those in easy circumstances, the same bed occupied by the father, mother, and a

grown up daughter, and that the mother is often driven away by her husband and daughter. The crime of incest is so common in England, that at the Maidstone Assizes for the county of Kent, in March 1813, three of the criminals were accused of this crime.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Military.

THE military spirit is the rage, or rather the prevailing fashion (1813) in England. Half a century ago, an English officer would hardly have dared to appear alone in public, dressed in his uniform; the rabble would have insulted, covered with mud, and even stoned him. The national writers had carefully kept up the prejudice that the regular army would be, from their profession, the most powerful supporter of despotism, and the most formidable enemy of the national liberty. At present, this branch of public spirit is changed; there is not a petty shopkeeper's boy in Cornhill, Fleet-street, or the Strand, who has not a Polish surtout, long whiskers dyed black, and hussar boots with spurs screwed on, and who does not wish to have it thought from his martial air, that he has made at least one campaign in the Peninsula.

One article of the *Act of Settlement* * passed by Parliament at the accession of William III. Prince of Orange, when the Stuarts were expelled, determines that the soldiers cannot in any case be quartered in any place, castle, or barracks made for that purpose. Inn-keepers

* *Act of Settlement*.—This contains the conditions on which William III. was called and chosen; it has been submitted to by the House of Hanover, and constitutes part of the oath which the kings take at their coronation. It is next to Magna Charta, the contract on which until the time of Mr. Pitt, the support of the constitution, now almost demolished, rested.

were obliged to receive a number of soldiers for a certain sum, which number never exceeded six or seven. This practice is still observed by troops on the march. Its object, at the passing of the act, was to keep alive the national spirit of the soldiers, and guard them against the seductions of the throne.

The regiments of royal guards themselves were subjected to this rule in London until the close of 1793, when Mr. Pitt forced from Parliament a bill authorizing the building of barracks near the capital, and the stationing of guards there.

Before striking so deep a blow at the constitution, they procured a great number of petitions to be presented by those who were obliged by law to lodge the soldiers, demanding relief from this burden. A number of the inhabitants of the district of Westminster, where these troops were quartered, supported these petitions, under pretence of maintaining public order. The soldiers, said they, distributed amongst the public houses, and released from all inspection, left no security to the inhabitants of that part of the city. The old friends of the constitution protested against it; Mr. Pitt laughed at them. The great majority of both houses were in the secret of the ministry, who were desirous that the soldiers should no longer live amongst the people, and feared lest they should be seduced by the revolutionary principles of France. The ministerial members were besides delighted that the ministers should have at their disposal a military force, always ready whenever those principles should cause an explosion amongst the people. At present every part of the English coast which overlooks France, is lined with barracks. In the interior, the ministry have erected them at every point where they have thought proper to assemble troops, whether regulars or militia. The city of London in particular is armed at all points with them.

The periodical writers, with which the city abounds, now take as much pains to give a military turn to the public spirit, as their predecessors did half a century ago, to banish a similar spirit from the people. Every thing now in Great Britain is tending towards the despotism of the nobles. Families, who but a short time ago destined their children to the study of law, or to commerce, now place them in the army, and talk of nothing but the honours, distinctions, and promotions, which follow the profession of arms.

At the time of the French revolution, the whole of the English army did not exceed sixty thousand men, most of whom were employed in the colonies, in Ireland, &c. The Parliament paid the King the expense of another army of thirty thousand men for Hanover; two thirds of this sum found its way into the coffers of individuals, and swelled the treasure, which the policy of that house has always held in reserve, since it has been upon the throne of England.

The army now consists of two hundred and thirty thousand men, * artillery and light infantry included. To these must be added thirty thousand men, who form what is called the German Legion, and nearly the same number of soldiers, known by the name of marines. The latter are destined for the service of the ships, and they have been augmented in the same proportion with the navy itself. † This corps has its generals and officers distinct from the rest, and is in a state of perfect subordination; but what renders the marine corps disrespect-

* The statements of the army and militia are taken from those brought forward by Lord Castlereagh, at the commencement of the session of Parliament in 1813, relative to the bills proposed for the new military arrangements.

† At the commencement of the session of 1813, it was proposed to increase the navy by the addition of ten thousand sailors, and one thousand marines.

side, and consequently is very injurious to its organization, is that all the officers and soldiers who compose it are generally despised, and deserve to be so. These soldiers are almost all procured by recruits of thieves and vagabonds from the prisons, or from scoundrels who have been disgraced in the regular army, or organized militia. Many children also are here disposed of, who discover vicious inclinations, and are too young to suffer capital punishment ; this corps is, if I may use the expression, *the scum of scums*.

After the infantry of the regular army, is a second army called the *standing militia*. Its regiments amount in all to about seventy thousand men, but the ministry can greatly increase this number, by doubling the number in the battalions and companies, without at all changing the skeletons, for the ministers interpret as they please those bills which confer upon them any authority. Their friends in the two houses come to their assistance with admirable address, and always prove that circumstances require the ministry to extend the provisions of the bill.

The regular regiments bear the name of their number, and those of the militia the name of the county which raised them. The latter must be enrolled so long as the war lasts, and the soldier can only obtain a discharge in time of peace, and after ten years service. At its first institution the standing militia of each of the three kingdoms could not go out of the county, and afterwards out of the kingdom ; but the act of interchange permits the ministers to send the militia of England into Scotland or Ireland, and vice versa. This bill was passed for the purpose of garrisoning Ireland with English troops, to prevent a revolt of the unhappy Irish, at a time when they were taking away the troops of that kingdom to send them into the peninsula. The ministry

were not satisfied with this violation of rights ; they caused petitions to be presented, requesting that the standing militia might be sent to the continent, and there is doubtless a bill at their disposal. The ministers are in a state of permanent despotism. But as the oligarchy are willing to appear to respect the people when they wish to obtain some extraordinary grant, or to violate the constitution, they do not go directly to the point ; they first feel the public pulse. The ministers prepare the minds of the nation through the medium of the papers. The danger is imminent, England is going to fall, is the cry which resounds in every direction. They seduce a certain number of those belonging to the class affected by the bill ; they are asked for what they resolved to exact, and they have the appearance of yielding to the will of the people, when in fact they are acting in opposition to it. Such has been the constant course and study of the British ministry for twenty years. *

The militia occupy all the garrisons and camps on the coast, since all the regulars have been sent to the continent. There is no difference in appearance and tactics between these troops and the regulars ; the discipline is the same ; and if there is any difference between these two divisions of the army, the advantage is even in favour of the militia, as it regards the composition of the officers. The reason is obvious ; it requires a certain income to enter it ; the colonel is generally a lord, and all officers of these corps are either large proprietors, or

* The *Act of Interchange* was proposed by Lord Castlereagh in November 1813, and passed unanimously in the House of Commons, with this modification, that no whole battalion of militia should be sent away, but that each, when required, should furnish 400 men, officers of companies, and two staff officers ; that this portion, united with similar portions, should form field battalions ; and that the main body of the battalions should remain in England as a depot, to be recruited in the usual manner.

in easy circumstances, while in the regular army it is sufficient to be able to purchase the commission.

After this standing militia, comes another sort of militia called volunteers. It is composed of the whole population of the lowest classes, of every person having the parish right. The government furnishes each man with his arms, and a complete suit of clothes. These men were formerly mustered by companies in the cities or boroughs nearest their place of residence ; but since 1811, they have been mustered by regiments, the whole month of May, in the shire town of the county. During this time they are under pay like regulars, and subject to the same discipline ; but no service can be required of them out of the county except in case of invasion. This militia forms a body of about thirty thousand men in the Three Kingdoms.

The recruiting of the regular army should be made, according to the constitution, by voluntary enlistment ; that of the local militia takes place in two ways ; by voluntary enlistment, and by drafting. The recruits are paid ten guineas at their enlistment. To fill up the ranks of the local militia, which is also called the regular militia, a draft takes place amongst all the married men from eighteen to forty-five years of age, resident in the parish at the time of drafting, whether they have the parish right or not ; even foreigners not naturalized are not exempted. Those men only are exempted who are widowers, or married, having five children ; those who are enrolled in the volunteer militia ; or those who have already been drafted and have furnished a substitute. One is always liable to be drafted between the two ages above mentioned, that is, for twenty-nine years. No nation has so severe a conscription law. The militia soldier when he is married, and has children, receives out of the poor tax of the parish wherewith to support

his wife and children. The regular soldier has not this advantage, and it is this difference which makes it difficult to obtain voluntary recruits for the regular army amongst the militia.

The regular army, when the voluntary recruits are not sufficient, is now recruited by force amongst the standing militia. A quota is designated for each militia regiment which they are compelled to furnish. The officers try to procure this number of men by exciting their enthusiasm, and these recruiting officers are rewarded by a warrant in the regular army. If the impulse of enthusiasm cannot be produced, because the number of men to be furnished is considerable, the staff officer of the battalion designates by name the men destined for the regular army; the soldier named then submissively goes over, and receives the bounty upon entering the regular army.

The standing militia being reduced and insufficient to fill up the voluntary militia, has also furnished its quota in 1811, 1812, 1813, and 1814, but in a manner entirely peculiar to itself. It was to obtain this, that the bill was passed ordering a muster for a month, of each battalion of this class of militia. The voluntary enlistment did not procure a single person when it was first proposed; whipping and prisons had but little better effect; the volunteers could not be compelled. The government never violates the laws in England; but when there is need of it, it causes them to be violated by the unhappy wretches whom they are desirous to come at. By closer discipline they produced revolts, and then the guilty, subject to the penalties of the mutiny bill, thought themselves fortunate in saving themselves from being hung or transported, by becoming soldiers.

The service of the regular army is for no fixed term; the soldiers are only discharged on account of old age,

serious infirmity, or wounds. The appointment and promotion of officers from the grade of ensign, or sub-lieutenant, to that of major, exclusively, is made by purchasing the commission. The King grants, though rarely, some brevets in these grades through favour. An ensign may remain an ensign his whole life time if he is not sufficiently rich to purchase a higher commission. But the son of a lord, or rich man, who has what is called an interest in Parliament, by purchasing his commissions, and beginning at fifteen, may become major of a regiment at eighteen, without ever joining one, or leaving the university.

The nomination and promotion by the King only commence at the grade of major ; favour and intrigue then decide almost every preferment. The head of the army is always composed of children taken from the first families in the two houses of Parliament. A rigid discipline and whipping, applied with unexampled barbarity for the least fault, supply the place of that point of honour by which every thing may be obtained from a French soldier.

The situations of ensign, lieutenant, and captain, are sold at a pretty moderate price. When the government bestows any of them, its appointments, almost always directed by intrigue, fall upon sharpers, vagabonds or footmen ; witness the appointment of the jockey of the celebrated Mrs. Clarke. The venality of these appointments destroys all sort of military merit. It is not uncommon to see a dissipated captain sell his commission, and descend to a lieutenancy, and then sell that, and purchase the place of an ensign. I have seen several sergeants who had been officers, had sold their commissions, and were afterwards sold themselves as common soldiers. I have seen in a little town, a merchant's clerk, who after robbing his master to a considerable amount, was sent into the army as an ensign ; his father purchas-

ed the commission for him, and his family observed "The rascal would have been hung; he is only fit to wear the red coat."

The soldier in England has always been considered as a vagabond who has sold his liberty through laziness, or as a robber, who by enlisting himself, has luckily escaped the halter. This prejudice has in some degree subsided since the ruin of manufactories in 1810 and 1814, forced a great number of honest people to enter the army to procure bread; but the government has never done any thing to elevate the mind of the soldier, and inspire him with a desire of doing honour to his situation.

The cavalry amount in all to about thirty-five thousand men. At the first view their dress and choice of horses make them appear the handsomest in Europe. But the horses, too delicately kept, cease to be so in the field, and are not proof against fatigue. In Spain an attempt was made to raise the character of the English cavalry, but they have only usurped that of the German Legion * under their pay, which is incomparably superior; but this is the fate of all nations who are so unfortunate as to send their soldiers into the English ranks, or to enter into a British alliance. This egotistical and proud people ascribe every thing to themselves, and wish to monopolize every thing.

Besides the regular cavalry, the English have a volunteer cavalry, called *Yeomanry*, composed of all the coup-

* The English enjoy the reputation of having the finest horses and best hostlers in Europe, and yet they have the worst cavalry. The care of a horse in the stable and in the camp, are two things entirely different. The English gallop and leap a ditch with much intrepidity, according to the abilities of the horse; they are *break-necks*, but they are not riders. The Englishman is naturally addicted to drunkenness and insubordination; a severe discipline alone can command his obedience in the field; he has no compassion for his horse, but is cruel towards him, and does not know how to manage and take care of him as he ought. The horse is his victim, and not his comrade in war.

try landholders who are in easy circumstances, and keep a horse, because the horse is exempted from taxation, and the man from being drafted for the militia. The horsemen are dressed in blue, their heads covered with a helmet; and they are armed with a sabre, a rifle, and a brace of pistols. They are sometimes mustered in small parties in the nearest village, and there go through some manoeuvres. This always takes place when they have the least work to do in the fields. The exercise is performed in the morning, and the horseman returns immediately home. The drills sometimes continue eight days, and never longer than twelve. This sort of cavalry has not yet been called upon to perform any service. I am assured, and I am inclined to believe, that altogether, it would form a body of nearly sixty thousand men.

The English artillery, more numerous than ours in proportion to the army, is composed of the handsomest men; its train horses have magnificent carriage tackling; there is nothing in any artillery which is superior to their iron work, wheels and harness; and they would appear to have attained the two essential points in this department, solidity and lightness, if they had never travelled any where but in England. But these excellent horses share no better fate in the field than those of the cavalry. In position, the English artillery yields to no other in celerity of movement and levelling of their pieces; but in the field, it is incapable of manœuvring. So their light artillery formed in imitation of ours, is only an artillery for parade, which they are obliged to trust entirely to foreigners.

Every English battery attacked by Frenchmen, however strongly protected is almost always carried. Our impetuosity astonishes and confounds them, and they know not how to resist it. As impetuosity is every thing

in an attack of this kind, the very reason which renders us fit for it, prevents the English from ever succeeding.

The English fight perfectly well in line ; and with their elbows supported, although their temperament, more cool and deliberate than ours, better fits them for taking a good aim, yet their soldiers are the worst marksmen in Europe. When we have nobody to deal with but them, we never fail to drive them back with the rapidity of lightning. They are sensible of this, and therefore foreigners are always appointed to perform this sort of service. In former wars it was done by their Hanoverians ; and they took care to save their national pride under the pretence that these troops who bore no comparison in their ranks, might serve to clear the way, and to skirmish, because they were better acquainted with the continent than their own men.

When one English line is broken, it becomes necessary to pass through them, disperse them promptly, and cut them off from the second line. An Englishman rallies easily by means of that instinct which makes him believe that he is strong only when his elbows are supported ; being rallied, he cannot be brought back to the charge, but sustains it twice, and even the third time.

The French when once broken, unless they have excellent officers, in whom an experience in war has taught them to place unbounded confidence, run, and trust only to themselves for safety. When rallied, they may be brought back to the charge ten times in a day, if they are broken so often, but their impetuous courage does not easily permit them to wait for it. When attacking, they never stop to count numbers, and if they ever do it it is only when they are waiting. The English always count. The military talent of that nation may be solid, but never brilliant. To risk nothing unless they are four times the strongest, and then with infinite precaution,

and to always temporize, is the greatest secret of their generals. One only, since the establishment of the two monarchies, Lord Peterborough, in the war of the Spanish succession, fought in the French style ; he had only a handful of English, his army was almost wholly Spanish, and composed of good troops ; he has been but little applauded by his countrymen, who did not wish him to have imitators, because they should not always find Spanish armies ready to acquire reputation for them.

The soldiers of the English regular army, in every branch, cost four times as much as those of other nations. Their pay in money is more than four times greater than that of the German soldiers. They receive a coat every year, and other clothes in proportion. It must require all the wealth of that country, or rather the enormous taxes they endure, to meet such immense expenses, expenses which undergo no retrenchment. But if the English government pays its soldiers even to prodigality, while they are in service, it abandons them with cold barbarity when they are worn out. This people, whose spirit is essentially mercantile, appreciate only present services of whatever kind, and the past is nothing in their view, if the man who has been useful is no longer able to render them any service.

No honourable reward, no consolation awaits the English soldier at the close of his career, and this has no other termination than his utter inability to serve. If aged, a warrant to beg is all that is granted him. A military hospital, known by the name of Chelsea Hospital, which can contain about twelve hundred men, serves as an asylum for that number of favoured cripples ; but the majority of this class obtain a very trifling pension, and live by begging. The old soldier submits so much the more willingly to this disgrace, as the whole of his military life has been a state of continual debasement.

The conduct of the government towards foreign soldiers, whom it has enlisted or reduced, is still more cruel when they are crippled and unable to serve. They are embarked, and cast naked and helpless upon some beach on the continent, at the mercy of the waves. Some of these wretched beings, possessed of a little money, have seen themselves robbed of it by the navy officers themselves, at the time they were cast upon the coast. Many have perished on the coasts of Holland, who have been overtaken by the tide and drowned.* At the time of the Flushing expedition, they enlisted all the Flemings they could find in the depots of prisoners of war; many of these wretches wounded in the expedition, and amputated, were again thrown into the hulks as a reward, on their return to England.

In Chatham Roads there were three prisoners of this description, a Fleming, a Lorraine and a Swiss; the last belonged to the fourth regiment in the garrison at Elvas, at the convention of Cintra. The English enlisted more than one hundred men of that regiment; the Swiss soldier in question was placed in the regiment of marines, made three campaigns with them, and when he was disabled by his wounds, he was thrown into the prison ship Canada. This Swiss was named Louis Ferendich, of the canton of Lucern. When he was thus buried in the hulks there was due him two years pay; but the marines and sailors being only paid when they are discharged, the unfortunate man never obtained a penny of what was due him.

Louis Loup, from the suburbs of Bruges, was one of the garrison of St. Domingo; he was enlisted at Herman

* This custom of thus casting upon the coast all the old soldiers who are worn out or maimed, and who are not English subjects by birth, has been made public in all the newspapers. Some Dutch boats have saved many of these unfortunate beings just as they were about to be swallowed up by the sea.

Cross, and conducted to Flushing, where he lost an arm. When the expedition returned, he was again thrown into the hulks, and was not even sent home at the capitulation. The cause of this last injustice was attributed to the fears of the government, lest the poor wretch should publish the horrible treatment which he had suffered.

Joseph Tiffer of Lorraine, belonging to the fourteenth of the light troops who was taken prisoner in Calabria, and who enlisted in the German Regiment, where he served five years, being severely wounded, was thrown into the prison ship Samson. I only mention three men, because they were with me at Chatham, but I assert that there is a prodigious number who have suffered the same fate at Plymouth and Portsmouth, after having been disabled in Spain.

CHAP. XL.

Navy—Manner of Enlistment.

THE navy is recruited in several ways; 1st, by the voluntary enlistment of seamen—2d, by enlisting in the prisons all the worthless apprentices and servants who have been guilty of theft, but cannot be branded, or of crimes which are not heinous, yet punishable by the laws.—3d, by seducing the prisoners of war of every nation—and finally by the *pressgang*; which last mode is only known and practised in England. Pressing is performed at sea in time of war, on board of all merchant vessels by government ships, who thus reinforce their crews, and sometimes give worn out and sick sailors for those who

are young, strong, and robust. It is practised also by land in all the populous cities.

The *press*, that last resort for recruits, and which exposes the real weakness of the resources of England, the *press* gives rise to scuffles from which the weakest party never retires without dislocated arms, broken legs, black eyes, fractured bones, &c. It would nevertheless be wrong to suppose that any one is allowed to strike one of the *pressgang*; opinion alone has made any difference between the respect due to him, and that which every citizen bears for a constable. The pressman addresses himself only to the wretch whose whole responsibility is in his own person; and once arrested, the latter has no other punishment to apprehend, than that of being sent to sea after some days imprisonment, and plain common sense teaches him that he does right to resist, since he will avoid being a sailor if he escapes.

A sailor in England, is one for life, or as long as he retains sufficient vigour and health to continue in service. When he is completely exhausted, or crippled, a discharge with permission to beg, are the recompense he obtains from his country.

We speak with admiration of the English, we unceasingly extol their naval establishments, their hospital for invalids, called Greenwich Hospital, in which their brave sailors, their *tars* as they call them, mutilated and infirm, receive from their grateful country all the attentions of a noble hospitality.

England covers the waters of both hemispheres with her vessels and sailors, and England has *one* hospital for three thousand sailors.

The buildings at Greenwich are built at the bottom of a hill beautifully ornamented with trees, and situated on the banks of the Thames, two miles from London.

buildings excel in beauty our Hospital for Inva-

lids; the appearance is admirable, but a residence in this retreat is only granted to a small number of favourites, and exclusively to natives. The rest beg with a wife and three or four children; for English marriages are very prolific. As to foreigners, and these form a little more than one third of the crews of the navy, they are cast, as I have observed, upon the nearest shore of their own country with the arrears coming to them, if they belong to an allied power, and without a penny if they belong to a power at war. When the French papers in 1812, justly complained of this barbarous custom, the court of St. James was somewhat troubled. It was then that we saw soldiers, wounded in the army of Lord Wellington, while fighting for England, poured into the prison ships, and cast amongst the French prisoners of war. If it was possible for me to conceal the horror with which such political conduct inspired me, I felt a sentiment of an honourable and secret joy, and this was the impression which this infamous spectacle of disloyalty made upon my brave companions in misfortune, upon Frenchmen, whom they wished to compel to enrol themselves under the banners of England.

The discipline on board vessels of war is extremely severe. If they did not take the greatest and the most rigorous precautions to prevent desertion, no vessel could anchor in any roads without being soon deserted; but it is not customary to permit the sailors to land in England, on their return from a cruise, as is the practice in France. A sailor, so long as he is in the service, can only see his natal soil, the village of his ancestors, from the topmasts of his vessel. Men who can be trusted, perform the service of the boats in port, and they are always the same trusty persons. This kind of service is even performed in England by people of the harbour, who do not belong to the ship's crew.

Some English sailors have been in the service twenty-five years; they have sailed to every part of the known world, and these sailors have never set foot on land for six hours, if they have not been so fortunate as to be taken prisoners. I have seen thousands of English sailors who had been prisoners in France, and had no other wish than that of meeting at sea with a force sufficient to capture their vessel.

When a ship is dismantled to be repaired or improved, the crew is put on board another vessel; they do not touch the shore. As for the rest, the payment of the sailors is made with much exactness, but only when they are entering a port of Great Britain. The sums advanced for clothes furnished during the cruise are deducted, and he is credited with the overplus of his allowance of victuals; for the sailors being abundantly supplied with provisions, have a right to leave in the cambouse what they have more than they wish to consume. This is allowed them in their account, and this sum, joined to their wages procures them a considerable amount. But they rarely profit by the fruit of their labors.

To deprive the sailor of a wish to visit the land, and to prevent the spirit of revolt immediately after peace, the vessel is opened to all the girls of a dissolute life, who offer themselves. Sometimes moreover, for form's sake, a hypocritical captain requires the female visitors to take the title of the sister, niece, cousin, or relation of the sailor they designate, according to the list sent ashore; it is to them a real lottery of age, form and money. These women never fail to bring with them a great abundance of provisions of the dearest kinds; some spirituous liquors, but not without some contrivance and secrecy; in fine, they bring clothes for their own use, which they make their sweethearts buy, and what is of more importance, pay for. Commonly in four or five days, and always in eight, all the cash of the crew is

landed ; then every thing is restored to order, the ship is cleansed and neatly fitted up, and the discipline takes its usual course. The time during which it has been suspended is amply redeemed by the distribution of the *ninetails*, and by less caution in the mode of mangling their shoulders.

The women of irregular life swarm in the English seaports. They are compared with those in our ports in the proportion of five to one. They receive assistance from the government at the times which are what they call *dead seasons*. I have even been assured that these funds are assigned them out of the private purse of the Queen, and they generally go by the name of Queen Caroline's daughters. This may appear a little too strong, but this is not at all to her prejudice in England, and I know not but this appellation may be a satirical application made by public opinion, it being notorious that all the princesses are mothers of families, although unmarried.

It is an excellent custom for the quartermaster to cause a shop well furnished with all sorts of garments of a good quality to be kept on board. The prices are fixed by the superior officers of the vessel. When the review of the baggage is made, and a sailor is thought to need a piece of clothing, it is delivered to him without waiting for him to ask for it ; the woolen clothes, dirty, worn out, and impregnated with pestilential miasm, are thrown into the sea. They do not allow those tattered garments, numberless patches, and beggarly rags with which the French sailors are covered. The health of the crew is improved by it, the cleanliness is perfect, and the appearance more satisfactory. This is an object of reform to which the attention of the administration, and heads of the French navy should be directed. The salubrity and welfare of the service is concerned ; and in this respect we ought to imitate with eagerness the English, who are our superiors in point of order, and naval discipline.

CHAP. XLI.

Navy Officers.

THE navy officers are composed of two distinct classes, perfectly separate. The first destined for promotion, and who obtain it early according to their merit or patronage, is composed of the sons of lords, officers of the first rank, members of Parliament, citizens in the liberal professions, priests, physicians, lawyers and merchants, who have already received the rudiments of education in their families, or in academies. These apprentices are treated in much the same manner as ours are ; it may even be added to the praise of the English captains, that they take better care of them when on board, than ours do. They ship at ten or twelve years of age with the grade of midshipmen, which answers to our *aspirant* or *garde marine*.

The second class never rise above the grade of lieutenant, except in very rare instances. It is composed of cabin boys. These are children of mechanics connected with commerce, and of poor people protected by a navy officer, who ships them in his service. If he is worth the trouble, and gains the affection of his master, the boy is taught to read and write, and make calculations, and is favoured with the perusal of a few books on the elements of navigation. The habit of hearing the officers converse, and of observing what is practising around him, ends in the elevation of the intelligent or attentive cabin boy above the common sailors. After fifteen or sixteen years sailing, that is, at the age of twenty-five, the boy is admitted to the grade of midshipman, and five

years service in this grade renders him fit to become a lieutenant.

The midshipmen and lieutenants, thus promoted, are charged with the most painful part of the most laborious duties of their rank; they inspect every minutiae of discipline, and they do it with the severity of slaves who are appointed the overseers of their equals.

Some by their economy marry the daughters of tradesmen in easy circumstances, and this resource, with a small pension, enables them even to live respectably. Officers of this grade, who have retired, command the prison ships; and it may well be supposed that men so vulgar, uneducated, avaricious, and accustomed to the exercise of a terrible discipline, conduct towards prisoners with shocking brutality. The management of the hulks or living tombs, the floating prisons of England, will be seen in due time.

To deny the superiority of the English over the French navy, would be to deny a fact. If, however, the information of the two navies is compared, it is certain that the present navy of France contains officers well informed, and of the first rate talents, and England can hardly reckon any who can class with the second rank of our enlightened mariners.

In France, the management of the vessel depends entirely upon the captain, who never fails to display himself in skilful manœuvres, and upon the officer of the quarter, who receives his orders, and gives the command. The sailing master is only charged with the care of the nautical instruments; he reports the day's work of the ship every day to the captain and officer of the quarter. The midshipmen and captain, also make their calculations, and prick out the place on the chart where the vessel must be according to her known latitude, and the longitude calculated.

In England, according to the route which the captain has directed, in pursuance of his instructions, the vessel depends entirely upon the sailing-master or pilot, who is generally the most experienced and the best practical navigator on board. Formerly this officer in the English navy had only the rank of master, which answers to our rank of commander of a merchant vessel, but now the masters are lieutenants, and take rank with them. During the whole of the cruise, they have the charge of the vessel; their responsibility, their rights, their duty in working the vessel are the same as those of our coast pilots on board vessels just entering or leaving port.

I shall not have the presumption to decide which is the best way of the two, but experience has convinced me that our navy officers being under greater obligations to work and inform themselves, are in reality more learned and more skilful seamen than the English navy officers.

We are in the habit of seeing every thing which belongs to our neighbours in a favourable light; we have been led to think that in England fortune opened a wider field for genius and exertion. This idea was always one of our English paradoxes. The astonishing fortune of Admiral Rodney is continually cited; he was a poor child, brought up in a hospital, and England is the only country, it was said in France, where this seaman could have obtained the command of fleets. Rodney had been educated at Christ's College, a seminary founded by Edward VI. for a hundred young orphans, and answers in some degree to our ancient military school, and to the funds for poor scholars granted by the Emperor in the Lycœums. These scholars, children of the first families; generally fill distinguished places in the church, and at the bar, in the House of Commons, and in the army and navy. Such is the *hospital* where Admiral Rodney was educated.

CHAP. XLII.

English Clergy.

THE English clergy are the richest in Christendom. Henry VIII. in his rage against Rome, which had refused him a divorce from Catharine of Arragon, abolished the convents and chapels of brotherhood, appropriated their wealth to his own use, and gave a part of it to his partizans. The fortune of the Duke of Bedford took its rise from this confiscation; and the grant made by Henry VIII. But this monarch, to whom his secular clergy suggested the idea of separating from the Romish Church, for the purpose of receiving from them permission to divorce for conscience sake, and to take as many wives as he pleased, did not forget the complaisant clergy whom he retained. Queen Elizabeth, his daughter, by establishing the liturgy, imitated his liberal example to secure the attachment of this clergy, and to consolidate a revolution, without which she could not use her throne to advantage. It is from this policy that the immense revenues of the bishops, deans, canons of the remaining cathedrals, rectors and vicars are derived.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of England, enjoys a revenue of more than three millions of francs; the Bishop of Winchester has an income of more than two millions, etc. The collection of tithes on all the products of the earth, a religious tax rigorously collected in England, is a great source of the wealth of the clergy, and has increased in an astonishing manner by the progress and improvement of agriculture.

There are some subaltern priests, that officiate in petty chapels, who have not so much reason to be pleased with their gleanings in the vineyard of the Lord. They receive a stated and trifling sum from the rector, vicar, or incumbent, who alone has a right to collect the tithes on the territory belonging to the chapel. The salaries of these officiating ministers, which is still the same as it was under Elizabeth, with a trifling addition under Queen Anne, is barely sufficient for their subsistence. They are precisely in the same situation with our ci-devant vicars on yearly allowance, whose bounty was paid by the tythingmen. The children of this unfortunate portion of the English clergy, generally supply the great cities with sharpers and vagabonds, and girls of ill fame; their pitiful vanity and that of their family, not permitting them to learn a trade.

The obligations or duties of the clergy are not troublesome. Those who are placed at the head of parishes or chapels, baptize, marry, and bury persons of their communion; and, except in these cases, they have very little communication with their parishioners. On Sunday they read prayers, which last half an hour, morning and evening, from the desk which is at the foot of the pulpit; and they add a sermon of the same length. When a priest wishes to preach something good, he generally buys his sermon ready made, and he has not, like our priests, the trouble of committing it to memory.

The custom of reading sermons in the English church is derived from a political cause. The priest is obliged to present his religious discourse before the magistrate, and to swear that he has not said or made use of any expression not contained in his manuscript; for the English minister can be called to account if he is suspected of having promulgated a doctrine contrary to the established laws. The ministers of the high church in

important political cases often receive their discourses already written, with an order from the bishop to read them.

Mr. Whitbread complained in Parliament, Oct. 31, 1812, of the practice of thus sending discourses in which they excited to assassination. He added that several ministers, and amongst others one of his acquaintance in the county of Bedford, had found the provocations so shocking that he refused to read them in the church. Mr. Bathurst, minister of state, only observed in answer, that such sermons, and provocations of that nature, might be the fruit of an indiscreet zeal, but that the government had no part in it. I have myself heard one of these sermons at Ashburn in Derbyshire, and the orator had hardly descended from the pulpit before two Frenchmen were murdered in the street by men returning from the church.

The wife of one of these preachers, a Mr. Proby, minister of Litchfield, in whose presence they were conversing upon the impropriety of these sermons, and particularly against this expression delivered by her husband, "*That to kill a Frenchman wherever he should be met with, was a work pleasing to God,*" allowed that this expression perhaps was too strong, but that it was indispensibly necessary to keep up the public spirit, that the people should be excited to abuse and beat the French prisoners of war as often as they dared to show themselves. Litchfield has never contained less than three hundred prisoners of war, who have there suffered unheard of cruelties.

Much is said of the political and religious toleration of England. All sects are tolerated there; the Catholics alone are not allowed publicly to exercise their worship. As to their political charity, of which we have just given a specimen, see the following public

are young, strong, and robust. It is practised also by land in all the populous cities.

The *press*, that last resort for recruits, and which exposes the real weakness of the resources of England, the *press* gives rise to scuffles from which the weakest party never retires without dislocated arms, broken legs, black eyes, fractured bones, &c. It would nevertheless be wrong to suppose that any one is allowed to strike one of the *pressgang*; opinion alone has made any difference between the respect due to him, and that which every citizen bears for a constable. The pressman addresses himself only to the wretch whose whole responsibility is in his own person; and once arrested, the latter has no other punishment to apprehend, than that of being sent to sea after some days imprisonment, and plain common sense teaches him that he does right to resist, since he will avoid being a sailor if he escapes.

A sailor in England, is one for life, or as long as he retains sufficient vigour and health to continue in service. When he is completely exhausted, or crippled, a discharge with permission to beg, are the recompense he obtains from his country.

We speak with admiration of the English, we unceasingly extol their naval establishments, their hospital for invalids, called Greenwich Hospital, in which their brave sailors, their *tars* as they call them, mutilated and infirm, receive from their grateful country all the attentions of a noble hospitality.

England covers the waters of both hemispheres with her vessels and sailors, and England has *one* hospital for three thousand sailors.

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CHAP. XLIV.

Diet and Regimen of the Prisoners on board the Hulks.

EACH prisoner of war is allowed a pound and a half (the English pound is only fourteen French ounces) of coarse bread, filled with water, half a pound (or seven ounces) of meat of a very bad quality, two ounces of oatmeal and some onions. This is the prisoner's ration. Two days in every week a pound of salted fish is substituted for the meat; the fish is alternately cod and herring. The herring days the prisoners leave them for the person who furnishes them, and who gives them a halfpenny. The spare and gun deck of each hulk have obtained it as a favour not to have fish together. That part of the prisoners who receive meat, put the usual quantity of water in the kettle, and that day, called *half-meat* day, every one receives slops for soup. These slops weaken the stomach instead of strengthening it; but it is warm food at least. Two boats enjoy the exclusive privilege of ranging the roads with provisions; these consist of butter, tea, coffee, sugar, candles, potatoes and tobacco. These privileged persons pay for their right; and this alone is sufficient to prove that the provisions are damaged, of an inferior quality, and are charged in the hulks one third more than the price on shore. These provisions, as well as those which the government allows, you must take, or go without; there is no choice. The only answer which is made to every complaint offered, is in all cases, "*It is too good for French dogs.*"

The extent of the abuses to which the unhappy prisoners are exposed amongst a people greedy of gain, destitute of the least delicacy as to the means of satisfying

this passion, and always incited by a violent sentiment of hatred, may be conceived, but cannot be extenuated. These abuses are committed with so much the more impunity as those who commit them are certain that every complaint made against them will be addressed to themselves, or necessarily return to them unless they are withdrawn, or rejected. I have been a witness at Norman Cross of enormities, and acts of perfidy, which I should not believe if I had not personal evidence.* The

* The system of murder and cruelty has been pursued in the two last wars by the Transport Office, which has always at its head the same men, with a fury and method, which almost exceeds belief. In the first war, thirty thousand men died with inanition in five months. I have seen a spot of ground at Norman Cross, where nearly four thousand men out of seven thousand confined in that prison were buried. Provisions were then dear in England, and our government, they said, had refused to pay a demand which they pretended was due for their prisoners. To obtain this demand, all the prisoners were placed on half rations, and to be perfectly sure of their perishing, the introduction of provisions for sale, as had been the custom, was strictly forbidden. To the failure in the quantity, was added the deteriorated and injurious quality of the provisions distributed. Four times a week they gave worm eaten biscuit, fish, and salt meat, and three times, black bread badly baked, and made of bad meal, or black grain. Immediately after eating it, the prisoner was seized with a sort of drunkenness, followed by a violent head ache, fevers, and diarrhoea, with redness of countenance; and many died attacked with a sort of vertigo. Kidney-beans, which were not cooked at all, were dealt out for vegetables, and in fine, hundreds of men daily dropped dead with hunger, or poisoned by the quality of their food. Those who did not die immediately, gradually grew so weak that they could no longer digest, and what, though horrible to relate, is the strictest truth, is, that some of the famished wretches, of a more robust constitution, sought in the excrement of their companions in suffering, the indigested beans, and, after a little washing, ate them. Others watched the moment, when, after having eaten, the debilitated stomachs which could not bear any nourishment, sent forth again what they had taken, to be nourished with it in their turn. Hunger knew no bounds; the dead bodies were concealed five or six days, that their rations might be obtained. The prisoners near them, called this *living by death*. Lord Cordower, colonel of the Carmarthen regiment, on guard at Dorchester prison, having one day entered the prison, left his horse fastened to one of the rails, and in ten minutes it was cut up and eaten. When Lord Cordower came to resume his horse, after some search he was informed of the fact. He refused to believe it, and said he could not credit it

Bread and meat were of so bad a quality that epidemical diseases were feared. The complaints of the prisoners became clamorous. I carried in person a regular complaint to Captain Pressland, who is entitled to my praises; that officer treated me well. The day after the complaint, some officers taken from the two battalions of militia, who guarded the prison, and some individuals with whom we were not unacquainted, entered, at the time the provisions were dealt out, with Pressland at their head, who vociferated dreadful imprecations upon the prisoners. The victuals were shown, and as the scene had been prepared, the victuals for that day were good. A deposition, to which the prisoners were not called, stated that they were of a good quality. Each of the signers vied in repeating that the French were villains and rascals, who were always complaining; that they were always ready to revolt, and that some must be shot as an example to the rest. In fact, the prisoners that day had to endure treatment still more cruel than that of the preceding days. The next day affairs took their ordinary course, the provisions were no better, and we were obliged to be silent, and remain exposed to the ravages of disease, and eat or starve.

The prisoners if they wish, can with the permission of the commander procure other provisions than those brought by the boats, by means of the wives of soldiers who compose the guard. For this purpose they are sent ashore twice a week; but here another misfortune

unless they would show him the remains of his horse. It was easy to satisfy him. They conducted him to the place where lay the skin and entrails, and a starving wretch finished devouring in his presence the last morsel of raw meat. An enormous butcher's dog, or rather every dog that entered the prison, shared a similar fate.

A crowd of witnesses, and amongst them several navy officers of L'Orient and Brest, can attest to the truth of these facts. I have caused them to be repeated to me by them a thousand times, that I might acquire the habit of hearing them, and the possibility of believing them.

befals them. This species of vampire, summoned to raise the prisoners, rarely bring what they are asked for, and still more rarely of the quality wanted; they always double the price, and if they are deceived in the choice of provisions, which often happens, they compel you to take what they have brought, and never carry it back to the shore. They are always right, and the prisoners always wrong. As the money has been given in advance, they render just such an account as suits them.

CHAP. XLV.

Dress of the Prisoners.

If the prisoners are badly supplied with victuals, their clothing if possible is still worse. The apparent regulations of the administration provide that each prisoner shall receive once in eighteen months a jacket, a waistcoat, a pair of pantaloons, two pair of stockings, two shirts, a pair of shoes and a hat. I have no doubt that in settling the account, the government pays for the clothing of the prisoners at this rate. Nevertheless it is an indisputable fact that the prisoners do not receive once in four years the complete suit, such as I have just described, and such as the administration allows. So long as the prisoner retains any of the rags with which he entered the prison, he does not receive a single garment. If he receives any money from his family, a circumstance of which the agent cannot be ignorant, since all money directed to a prisoner passes through his hands, he does not receive any clothing; so that the nakedness of most of the prisoners is frightful! they are consumed with vermin, which cannot be destroyed, and with which all are covered.

On the other hand, the clothes dealt out are cut so that they cannot be used as they are, by even men of a small stature. All are obliged to be made over again; the pantaloons have no breech or waistbands; these are generally made out of the pattern for two; and the waistcoat is always employed in enlarging and strengthening the seams of the jacket.

From such a deficiency in the furnishing of articles which probably no one inspects with care, because all find their account in it, it follows, that fifteen days after any distribution of clothes, half of those who have received them have been obliged to sell a part, to put the rest in a condition to be worn.*

CHAP. XLVI.

Money sent to Prisoners by their Families.

If the prisoners are obliged to endure great privations, and real evils, in what appertains to food and clothing, they have equal difficulties to surmount in obtaining the assistance expected from their country. The family of a poor sailor, or an unfortunate soldier, part with every thing, and suffer the most painful privations to send him an inconsiderable sum. A quarter of the sum so sacred does not reach its destination, but becomes the prey of

* Captain Woodvine, agent for the prisons at Portsmouth, was one who appeared to be anxious to make the most of his place. He caused the shirts to be dealt out very exactly at the time they were due, but at the very instant of distribution, his secretary bought them back again for a shilling. It is said the government pays three shillings for these shirts. The hulks of Portsmouth do not reckon less than twelve thousand prisoners; the profits arising from this may be calculated. As to the rest, they were not more exact in these two prisons than in the others in the distribution of the other garments, and the food was in some respects worse than at Chatham.

officers in the transport office. If the soldier or sailor receives letters informing him of the relief, (and they are oftener intercepted,) and if, in consequence of this, he demands it, the answer always is, "They have received nothing for him." He must consider himself fortunate, if after a year's importunity, he at last receives a part of what has been received for him. If the prisoner dies, is exchanged, or transferred to another prison, the sum is absolutely lost. The aggregate of a number of small sums accumulated in this manner, makes up a handsome fortune for the agent, not only by the principal which is stolen, but also by means of the accumulated interest.

It would be difficult to determine exactly the amount of this capital obtained by robberies, but it is certainly very considerable, since each depot of prisoners does not contain less than four thousand men, amongst whom are often found many national officers, officers of privateers and merchantmen, and the sailors of privateers, who all receive pretty large sums of money from France, or rather to whom considerable supplies are sent. The privateersmen, the first years of their detention, generally cause all they may have gained from their share in the prize money to be sent them. So that when transfers are to be made of the prisoners of Chatham to the prisons of Norman Cross, the prudent and skilful agent takes care to designate and send only the poor soldiers. His masters give him instructions which he had previously solicited, under pretence of punishing the privateersmen, by detaining them in a closer prison, instructions which they violate without scruple, when those unfortunate prisoners are concerned, who he well knows, by experience, have no more funds to receive from France.

If the officers receive through the medium of bankers, more considerable sums, for which it is necessary to give

receipts addressed to the bankers themselves, robbery does not cease to be committed, but it is done with more address than they would condescend to employ if only a soldier or sailor were concerned.

The administration* made themselves the regulators of the expenses and wants of the prisoners. They resolved that they should not receive more than two pounds sterling per week. An officer is informed that he is to receive a hundred pounds sterling; the clerk of the agents offers him a receipt for the whole sum for his signature, and although the money is paid into the hands of the agent in five days after the receipt at farthest, it is not ordinarily less than two or three months before he begins to make the weekly payment of two pounds. This capital produces an interest, because it is only taken out of the banker's hands in small sums on the pay days, except the agent removes the capital after signing a discharge, for the purpose of employing it in some lucrative speculation, to increase the amount of his robberies.

I could cite a thousand examples to support what I advance in regard to robbery of sailors; I shall mention but one, because I myself interposed in the affair. An old sailor, named Louis Bertrand, who was going from the vessel called the *Hautpoul*, in a sick and dying condition to the hospital of the Crown Prince, had received from his wife, more than fourteen months before, the information of a small sum of twenty-four francs; and on every demand for it had received for answer, "*They had received nothing for him.*" A new letter from his wife informed him that the banker in London had remitted that sum to the transport office more than ten months since. A list of invalids was then made out to be sent away; Bertrand

* By the *administration*, in this instance, as in several preceding, is only meant those who have the immediate care and management of the prisoners.

was included in it. Some days afterwards they came to get him to sign a receipt for twenty-four francs, but they did not give them to him. Two months elapsed between the sending of the list of invalids to London and their departure for France. The day of embarkation, Bertrand was put on board the cartel, but he received nothing. This good man had wants of the most pressing kind, and he was bewailing his situation when I offered to advance the sum. Desiring not to appear humane, that is, not wishing to have any thing to do with the agent, I mentioned it to the interpreter on board, and he generously advanced it on my written security. He had the greatest difficulty in the world to obtain a reimbursement.

The agent at Chatham and his clerk made all sorts of speculations with the money of the prisoners. One of the most lucrative, and which required the least funds, was that of a brewery, in which they only used as the chief ingredient the grains of other breweries, already boiled, which they purchased at a low price, and made into beer. The poor prisoners to whom the use of small beer only was allowed, were obliged to furnish themselves from this brewery, for other breweries were not permitted to sell to them. At last, other speculations, more brilliant but less safe, having opened a vast field to the cupidity of the agent, he suffered losses; the clerk, the ostensible owner, became bankrupt, and if in such cases, which are by no means rare, the prisoners do not lose their capital, it is at least certain that the agent, a man whom the Transport Office has not yet succeeded in releasing from responsibility, will throw many obstacles in the way of all the reimbursements, to which he will be holden.

More than a hundred and fifty pounds sterling, it is well ascertained, have been lost in this manner, without reckoning unknown sums; the Chatham agent after the

bankruptcy of his clerk, having pretended that he had not found the sums demanded entered in his books. Sums still larger have never been paid, because the agent had found a memorandum that they were paid. He could have made use of the same pretext to every one, and for all sums without distinction, since he took care to make them sign the receipts a month in advance ; but he has not dared to do it in several instances, having still some remains of shame or fear. M. De Merven, a prisoner who was confined in the Crown Prince, was in the habit of sending from time to time some money to a poor family in Litchfield, to whom he considered himself under some obligations. The money was secretly conveyed through the medium of a friend in London, and always reached its destination. One of his letters was intercepted by the agent, and it became necessary for him to submit to the sending of it in the manner allowed. Some time before the bankruptcy of the agent's clerk, M. De Merven sent two pounds sterling to the clerk's office, directed to Litchfield. This sum never arrived there ; and when M. De Merven claimed it again, he received for answer that they could not find the article entered in any of their books. Many of these details may appear too minute, but they must interest every good Frenchman, since they concern those brave soldiers or sailors from whom, after having robbed them of their food and clothing in England, they even steal the money sent to their assistance.*

* I ought to mention another species of abuse, unknown to the agents, by which the prisoners have been sufferers. Many of my readers who perhaps may have rejected my book with indifference, will one day have sons or brothers prisoners in England ; if I forewarn them by some good advice I shall be avenged.

The houses of Peregaux-Lafitte of Paris, and Coult of London, when all correspondence was interdicted, were permitted mutually to transmit funds destined for the prisoners. Until towards the middle of 1809, the exchange was unfavourable to France, and from the sums received, after having deducted their own commis-

CHAP. XLVII.

Different kinds of habitual ill-treatment.

WHATEVER weather it may be, the prisoners are counted twice a day; the stair cases, by which four or five hundred men must escape to answer to their names, are steep and narrow, and only allow one man to pass at a time. On rainy days the men assembled in the *park*, return wet to the skin; the woollens once wet, are never dried in the damp atmosphere of the prisons, and this is not one of the least causes of those maladies which destroy the French prisoners of war.

When they are to be counted, some soldiers go down to drive up the prisoners, and then shocking acts of brutality are committed. Prisoners have sometimes been pierced with bayonets, or maimed with sabres at the will of a drunken soldier, because they did not ascend fast enough. In this case there is no redress to be obtained or expected. Colonel Vatable and myself, the witnesses and almost the victims of such an act of barbarity, saw a poor fellow fall under the blows he received from the

sions, and those of the house of Peregaux, they deducted also the difference of exchange. In 1809, the exchange became favourable to France and has been advanced as high as 33 per cent. in the course of 1810, 1811, and 1812. M. Delacour, a notary at Paris, made me a remittance in 1811, to the house of Peregaux, of 2400 francs; I received of Messrs. Coult 2400 francs at par. As I was appointed advocate, in all cases of abuse, I did not fail to write to Messrs. Coult at London, to complain of them, remarking that when the exchange was unfavourable, they had taken care to make the deduction, and they answered by referring me to Messieurs Peregaux, from whom, as they said, they received the accounts made out in pounds sterling, according to the payments to be made. I followed their advice and wrote to Messieurs Peregaux in pretty severe terms, and M. Delacour, the notary, received from them a request to call at their banking house to rectify a mistake. About 400 francs were restored to him. I have reason to believe that few such restitutions have been made.

sabre of a soldier, the chief of which was a deep gash on his arm. We expressed our indignation, and as the only redress of our complaint, we were answered that the soldier was somewhat brutal, that he had been drinking, and that such an affair would never happen again. The next day orders were given that Colonel Vatable and myself should be from that time shut up before the roll call, that we might not be witnesses, or be enabled to complain of the murder of our countrymen. It is thus that justice is generally administered to French prisoners of war in England. A crime committed against them always becomes to them the precursor of more aggravated punishments and persecutions.

I declare, with full knowledge of the case, that more than five hundred Frenchmen have perished in this manner, without any possibility of justice being obtained ; that a considerable number remain crippled, and disabled on account of blows from muskets, bayonets, sabres, &c. When the murder has been followed by immediate death, which has often happened, the verdict of the jury has always been justifiable homicide. At the time of the horrible massacre on board the hulk *Samson*, May 31, 1811, in which eight men were killed on the spot, and amongst others, Lieutenant Dubausset, the jury pronounced no other verdict than justifiable homicide. There was no plausible motive for this massacre ; it may be called a premeditated crime of the agent, the lieutenant commandant of the hulk, and their accomplices.

After having suffered so much ill treatment, and been exposed to so many dangers, the French prisoners of war have not yet been made acquainted with all the horrors of their destiny. If their health has withstood so many evils, diseases came to put the finishing stroke to it.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Diseases to which Prisoners of War are subject.

EVERY year the administration sends home a certain number of men, whom they call invalids, and the English admiralty prides itself upon this conduct as an act of humanity ; but it is the result of a perversity the most artful and infamous. It would have been worthy of the wisdom of our government to draw up written accounts of the situation of those unfortunate invalids who were sent home from the English prisons. The French nation would have seen the conduct and views of the English ministry exposed. It was not old men, whose strength was impaired by age, nor soldiers mutilated in battle, which the cabinet of London restored to liberty and their country ; they were young men, all of whose constitutions were originally robust ; men in the strength of age, dying with consumption, murdered by prison regimen, and sent home in the last stages of disease. Men fit for service are killed, and then sent home to France to finish dying there. Several of these unfortunate victims have died on the passage.

Some pulmonary disease affects every man who has been imprisoned more than two years, and the rapidity of its ravages is in proportion to the youth of the subject. The ministry or Parliament of England not only take no precaution to prevent this disease or to check its progress, but on the contrary, the medical attendance, the copious bleedings, the weakening regimen, the blisters applied to excess, in one word, all the assistance afforded is calculated to unfold and confirm the symptoms of this mortal complaint. A young surgeon of Turin, M. Fontana, taken in the French army, has written a me-

moir on this subject, which evidently proves that the mode of practice employed in the prisons, is an auxiliary which is made use of to kill, and not to restore. If any one inveighs against this calumny, or perhaps prejudice, if he finds, or rather wishes to consider as doubtful the assertions of the physician above cited, and whose memoir is in my possession, he has only to recollect the *proces verbaux* drawn up at the instance of the prisoners who have been cast upon the different shores of the continent by the orders of the admiralty ; these *proces verbaux* whose authenticity is incontestible, demonstrate that the English government has caused bales of cotton impregnated with the plague, to be thrown upon our coasts ; that these men (accused of barbarity without example, and of continual homicide, in this work of a French physician,) have obliged the English soldiers to bruise their balls that the wounds may become more dangerous, and the tearing of the flesh render it impossible to heal them ; that they have annually vomited bands of assassins upon our coasts, and into our domestic abodes ; and that it is these very men who have shouted for twenty years, and now renew with fury or implacable rage, the cry of division to France, and destruction to the last of her inhabitants.

The public papers in England every year repeat, at four or five different dates, " That there is no acute disease amongst the French prisoners ; that only a few colds are observed amongst them, and that the prisoners never were better." These hypocritical declarations, ordered by the ministry, are made to silence the cries of the French prisoners, and their object is to prevent persons of humanity from interesting themselves in their behalf. The prisoners are too feeble to be attacked with acute diseases ; they are devoured by that lung complaint which is called a *cold* by the cabinet of St. James. I repeat, and unhappily without fear of contradiction, that

there is not a prisoner who is not more or less affected by this complaint, after remaining one, or at most, two years in the close dungeons of England. Of six thousand prisoners, two thousand are generally so affected with it as never to be restored, and gradually die in the space of four years. But in this interval, about a third of these two thousand prisoners thus devoted to certain death, will be sent home to France in the last stage of the disease, and the other two thirds will expire in the prisons. In the mean time, new subjects will become affected with the same complaint, and liable to the same chance of being destroyed. This is the calculation, the invariable method of the British ministry. The greater part of the prisoners sent home to France have been murdered beforehand. The ministers would be more humane if they declared once for all that no prisoners should be made on the field of battle ; they would be less atrocious if they obliged their generals to carry with them in all their wars a body of Indians, as they did in America, that they might massacre all the French soldiers whom the fortune of war threw into their hands.

CHAP. XLIX.

Exchange of Prisoners.

UNTIL the negotiations which took place between general Dumoustier and Mr. Mackenzie, every proceeding relative to the exchange of prisoners had been made with a sort of diplomatic secrecy. Many prisoners were uncertain on which side the blame lay, and many thought, that the exertions of the French government had not been strong and pressing ; that, in one word, their offers had been insufficient. Seamen, soldiers, even officers are not civilians ; the question respecting host-

ages, a question so simple and natural, was ill understood and badly explained.* English craft and perfidy had not been more so in the capitulation of the army of Hanover. And why was not that whole army carried prisoners to France? I have heard impatiently repeated a thousand times. The violated capitulation of St. Domingo was almost an object of mischievous pleasantry; in fine, the negotiations of Mr. Mackenzie put an end to all doubts; they opened the eyes of those who were the least clear sighted amongst us.

* Some who pretend to reflect, in spite of all the explanations which have been made to them on the question of hostages, have the audacity to say even now, that they do not understand it, or rather they have the dishonesty to pretend not to understand, that they may find fault with it. To such let me be permitted to say a few words.

The last war was the seventh since the time of Charles II. in which, contrary to all ideas of honesty and every national law, and even to the treaty of Riswick, the English have seized in time of peace the vessels of France, against which they were meditating war, and have considered them lawful prizes, when it has been declared, by confiscating the merchandize, and detaining the crews and passengers as prisoners of war. This practice, which is real piracy, but which will be persevered in by England, so long as the maritime powers shall not have the courage to put an end to it by guaranteeing each other, originates in an old statute of the Plantagenets, which provides that all prizes taken between the commencement of hostilities and declaration of war, are liable to confiscation for the benefit of the king. This infamous custom is too useful to the government, which finds in these confiscations a supply of several hundred millions, without the necessity of having recourse to any tax to commence the war, for them willingly to discontinue it.

The detention of hostages in France, against which ignorance, want of public spirit, and patriotism have declaimed, was but a just and feeble retaliation; for the hostages seized in France offered no other guarantee than that of persons as prisoners of war, while England had violated both persons, and property, and thrown our maritime ports into disorder, which had ruined a thousand houses, a ruin whose rebound was felt in all our manufacturing towns in the interior.

It is with pain I shall repeat what I heard in England itself, that authorities, charged with the arrest of these hostages, setting themselves up as judges of an act of justice of which they were only the executioners, have been so unfaithful as to advertise the English who were near, and facilitate their escape. These unworthy Frenchmen have been the enemies, the real enemies who have kept us twelve years in prison.

That negotiation was an infamous snare laid by the English ministry for the honesty of the French government. We had a greater interest in that negotiation ; we had followed the minutest particulars with enlightened attention ; nothing has escaped us ; they have not been able to deceive us. We desired the exchange with a desire which cannot be expressed ; yet we all trembled lest France should accept definitively these proposals which would have restored to their homes all the English prisoners, without our country's obtaining perhaps a single man truly belonging to her, a single French citizen, or at least one who was not an invalid, or at the point of death. The designs of the English ministry and their diplomatic skill were such that they received every thing, and gave nothing in return.

In this unhappy affair of negotiating for the exchange of prisoners, it is we, we alone, who have been affected, and the more we have been interested in this affair, the less our opinion should be suspected. I declare then, I declare upon my honour, and there are sixty thousand witnesses to contradict me, that since the rupture of the negotiations for the exchange, every species of murmur against the French government subsided.

Immediately after the rupture, the English ministry caused an address, written in French, to be abundantly circulated amongst us. We burnt this address with ignominy ; we resigned ourselves to suffering and death. It was evident to us that the cabinet of London had resolved to destroy us all. From that time they were more eager than ever to obtain the greatest number of prisoners possible. It would seem as if the war had no other object. They caused all the prisoners of their allies to be delivered into their hands, and doubled their rigour to hasten our destruction.

I lay aside my pen at the recollection of what I have suffered, of what I have seen others suffer around me ;

my indignation chokes me. I shall add but one word more; Heaven in compassion gave to each of the poor French prisoners twenty times the length of an ordinary life, or they would all have fallen.

CHAP. I.

Unhappy Neglect of Prisoners of War—Excessive Sufferings from insufficient Pay.

I HAVE said in the preceding chapter that if I thought we had reason to complain of our government in regard to exchanges, I would accuse them with as much frankness as I defend them with warmth. I hope to prove in this that I cannot sacrifice the truth, when the interest of my countrymen is concerned, although my own should suffer for it.

The renewal of war has already placed many of our citizens in the hands of the English, and their number has been so much the greater, as they have not failed to get possession even of those which do not belong to them, as they had done in the preceding war. A detached writing, a newspaper article, destined to turn the generous attention of the government to the unhappy victims of honour and love of country, dies as soon as born; a memorial, through the neglect of a subaltern, may be buried in the dust of oblivion; a book remains, and if it finds a few indulgent readers, it is sooner or later taken effect. How could I be so bold as to attain to this end? I wish.

The English in the hands of the Americans were prisoners. Until the American cause the ordinary

of the rest of Europe, and they were generally cheap. Besides, exchanges were frequent, especially of officers; for although, in the seven years war, the English might have adopted the system of not exchanging sailors, there were few officers detained more than six months.

During the last war, which continued twelve years, there was no exchange nor release of any kind, and the land officers especially, since the commencement of the Spanish war, have been very carefully guarded. Bread has several times been worth sixteen and eighteen sols per pound of fourteen ounces, and never less than six sols. The current established price is generally eight sols. Bread is in almost every country the standard or object of general comparison, by which the value of all other articles of prime necessity is determined. I have elsewhere explained why the English government are interested, and wish to have bread as well as all sorts of food, the produce of the soil, at a very high price. Manual labour has followed this gradual rise, and a fictitious currency, paper money, being thrown into circulation in unmeasured abundance, and satisfying every demand, has not yet permitted them to perceive that every price in England bears no proportion to those of the rest of the world.

Officers, prisoners of war, have received an increase of pay of *threepence*, that is to say, a daily allowance of one shilling and sixpence, a sum far short of their necessities in a country where the lowest labourer is not paid less than four shillings, and where an ordinary workman, a tailor or shoemaker, is paid from five to seven shillings a day. The greater part of these officers who had no other fortune but their sword, being successively plundered by the English, by the Spanish Guerillas, under whose escort they had been placed, and in fine, by the Portuguese at Lisbon, arrived naked, and in a most de-

plorable state of health. Some comrades hastened to give them the first assistance; but this aid, administered by those who were wretched and poor themselves, always fell far short of their necessities, and those who received, as well as those who gave, lived in a state of privation and misery, which is unknown to the most indigent class of any country. I have seen French officers, young persons, accustomed to a sort of independence at home, crowded four in a garret, where they divided two truckle beds between them, sometimes having nothing to support their heads, except a piece of cloth into which they stuffed a little straw, or which the most industrious suspended in the form of a hammock, living whole months upon boiled potatoes, having no other seasoning than a little salt, and on the bones of an ox's head; rarely coming out, and then alternately, that they may save the only pair of boots or shoes belonging to the company; and, after having thus by their economy spared wherewith to procure themselves some clothes, to end by failing through inanition, the contraction of serious disorders, and in some cases by death.

The Duke de Feltre, minister of war, tired of the letters in which we described to him our sufferings, intended to let us receive half our salary, in imitation of the minister of marine, who has never ceased to do so for his department. Nevertheless, as it was a war of innovation, it was necessary to refer it to the council of state. Men decked out in embroidery, whom their master's generosity had long since placed beyond the reach of misery, unanimously rejected the proposition. Those who do evil seldom feel the effects of it; gluttoned with wealth, it is not probable that any of them, restored to their former mediocrity, are in the same miserable condition to which they condemned their countrymen.

The English government from a sentiment of justice

as much as from the consciousness of its national dignity, pays its officers their salaries when prisoners of war. It has done more; being convinced that amongst hostages there are found many young men without fortune, who are travelling for their instruction, and who do not belong to any rank in the army, it has caused them to be paid a hundred pounds sterling annually in France. It must be confessed that it is thus a government does honour to itself, and merits the attachment of its subjects. We go farther; it is thus that public spirit is strengthened in favour of a government, by whom the useful subject, who has served it well, knows that he shall not be forgotten in adversity.

May the same scenes never be renewed, and may the French government, better informed as to the sufferings of its officers from insufficient pay, in a country where every thing is extravagantly dear, extend its justice to them in future.*

CHAP. II.

Designs of England upon Europe.

THIS chapter is short. In ten years it will have become a volume. If the destruction of the Antilles, and their rich productions, is necessary to England, (as we shall show in one of the succeeding chapters) to make her the proprietor and dispenser of the riches of the

* Goldsmith, who wrote during the seven years war, prefers the same reproach against the French government for totally abandoning its prisoners; and takes occasion therefrom to extol the humanity of his countrymen, who, he says, have ceased to regard the French detained in England, as enemies, but only view them as suffering men who need assistance, and for whom they have raised abundant subscriptions.

world; to check the progress of an enemy which she begins to regard with an eye no less jealous, and which she already fears almost as much as she does us; (I mean the United States of America); it is not less useful to her to obtain possession of the chief maritime cities, which serve her for an entrepot, and at the same time secure to herself the dominion over all the continental powers.

The project which I am here exposing will without doubt appear extravagant, but such a project exists, and I have had proofs of it in England, from the mouths of important personages. By exciting continual wars, by taking part in all of them, after having worried out the different nations, and after having irritated them against their own governments, it is the intention of the English government (and this intention arises from a necessity which has become indispensable to England) to bring about a general convulsion. It flatters itself that it will then be able to call all the great maritime cities of Europe, even the very capitals of kingdoms and empires, Petersburg, Copenhagen, Stralsund, Dantzick, Lubec, Hamburg, Bremen, Embden, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Antwerp, Dunkirk, Nantz, Bordeaux, Bayonne, Lisbon, Cadiz, Carthagen, Barcelona, Marseilles, Naples, Messina, Venice, Trieste, Fiume and even Constantinople, if ever circumstances permit, to a pretended political and commercial independence, under the title of the *Hanseatic Confederated Cities*; that it will garrison these cities with troops belonging to England, under pretence of protecting and maintaining their maritime freedom; that as a recompense for so great a benefit it will only demand the free entry and departure of English vessels from their ports, by only paying the municipal duties, and the permission to establish mercantile houses; and in this way it will at length form an empire or universal

monarchy, of which all the compacted parts, united by the bonds of commerce, will form a girdle around the old world, which will not permit any raw materials, nor any manufactured article, to enter or depart except for the profit and at the will of England.

To make sure at the same time of the dependence of these cities, and to resist the efforts of their ancient sovereigns, the English government will have within their reach some colonies entirely English, who will watch over them; Alland in the Baltic; Heligoland in the German sea, at the mouth of the Elbe; The coasts of Scotland and England opposite the Netherlands and France; Santona, destined to make a second Gibraltar,* in the Gulf of Gascony; Gibraltar, Minorca, Malta, Corfu and the Ionian isles will be her colonies. Alland, Santona, Minorca and Corfu are wanting; but let any one take the pains to read the political writings on the future prosperity of England, and he will see that the pretensions to their possession have already been announced. It is in this manner the public debt of England must be paid. It is true that for the full accomplishment of this project it is necessary for France to be completely destroyed; but our misfortunes are sufficiently great, let us not anticipate those which await us.

It is true that the high destiny of Russia must be checked; but let a rebellion be excited at Petersburg, where the English have at pleasure already promoted or suspended great revolutions,* where commercial wealth is

* There is not an individual who does not repeat to you at London with a sort of pride, that it was the English who commanded the death of the Emperor Paul for having dared to make peace with France. After the peace of Tilsit, the merchants of London had the impudence to bet in Lloyd's Coffee-house that the Emperor Alexander would not live six months. This fact is publicly notorious. After the treaty of Erfuth the same bets were renewed, but less violently. The nonperformance of this treaty, according to which, Russia engaged to shut her ports against England, appeared

dispensed or drawn away by them; let an unequal maritime war, (since no power in Europe has such a navy as the English) be declared, and finished in a short time; let a native king of Poland be raised by that noble nation to their ancient throne, now half built up again; in fine, let Sweden, urged on for the purpose of reconquering Finland; let Denmark, restrained by the expectation of indemnity, become the allies of England, and Russia, harassed by all these events which will burst upon her at once, will again change the seat of government to Moscow; England in that case will again have the glory of being called the liberator of Europe, the founder of free cities, wrested from the tyranny of kings.

Venice, not forgetful of past honours, and Italy, desirous to become a nation, only need a slight support to enable them to throw off the yoke of Austria, now without money or allies, and this support England will afford her.

The grandeur of the King of the Netherlands will only be transient. Holland long ago was a source of uneasiness to England; she will no longer be so when her great cities become a part of the confederation, with an English garrison.

the fury of the bettors. Mr. Percival in the session which followed the campaign of Wagram, and towards the end of that session, to get rid of the reproach that the Spanish war had already consumed a considerable quantity of men and money, without producing any effect, said that in the succeeding campaign they would give the French Chief so much to do in the North, that the house for once should be satisfied with the result. Mr. Percival was urged to explain himself if he had already formed a new coalition which was to be as unfortunate as the preceding ones. I have nothing more to say to the house, answered he with a mysterious air; but ought not the enterprising genius and restless spirit of the French ruler to satisfy you, that on the slightest pretext the North will be troubled? Mr. Percival was assassinated at the commencement of the following session.

The frosts have caused the destruction of the French Army. If this campaign has been the result of the insinuations and coalitions formed by England, it must be confessed that it is to accident and not to the wise foresight of her ally that Russia is indebted for safety.

Not a vessel, not a coaster nor fishing boat will sail, except it be under the English flag or that of the confederation. All communication by sea between different states will be interdicted, and will only be made with the permission of England. She will proportion the exports and imports not according to the wants of the consumers, but according to the chances offered to her cupidity; she will fix the price of all provisions, and command famine or plenty as she has done in India, when she thought it necessary for the establishment or strengthening of her power, to cause millions of inhabitants to perish with hunger in those countries so magnificent, and, since the administration of Lord Clive, so unfortunate.

The grain of Barbary, Sicily, the North, and that of France will be bought up at high prices. When the scarcity is well established, a part of the grain will be gradually sold again so as to double the profits on the value of the whole, and then the rest will be burnt, as in Holland, not long since, they burnt the surplus of pepper and cloves.

Let it not be thought, I again repeat, that I am here speaking merely from conjecture. I say what I have heard in England, from men who had in that country the reputation of statesmen, and profound observers; at a time when the events of 1814 could not have entered into their calculations; but at a time when the full tide of prosperity was granted to France, to which her happy destiny had until then called her; it was precisely at this time of great prosperity, that they pretended to foresee the possibility of a mighty convulsion, a convulsion which was distant but which they considered inevitable.

As for the rest, the projects of England over Europe are already half accomplished, thanks to the false policy

of all the cabinets who blindly precipitate themselves into the alliance, that is, under the control of England.

Has not one of our own cities for several years been falling imperceptibly under English influence? has it not abandoned the greatest part of its commercial advantages, which if continued must end in the total ruin of her ancient inhabitants? A considerable number of English houses have established themselves at Bourdeaux; they receive all the merchandize of their country in colonial provisions, or manufactured articles, destined to carry destruction to our manufactures. They make on those commodities considerable profits, which enable them to raise the price of our wines and brandy in the market, if they think it necessary to destroy the competition.

These wines and brandies, our grain and some other articles, are shipped by these houses, and by the few Frenchmen who make their voyages in English vessels in preference to our own, because these vessels, which came loaded, and for which the return cargoes are all prepared, can be freighted at a better rate than French vessels, which are not sure of finding a return freight, and of not being obliged to return in ballast. It is thus that our commerce is dying in the hands of natives, and our navigation perishing at Bourdeaux.

I state the evil; the means of discouraging the establishment of English houses in France, are in the power of the legislature. Pass a law whose provisions shall nearly resemble those of the navigation act in England, and, notwithstanding our misfortunes, our situation and our territorial wealth will make us what we ought to be.

It is not with English merchants who establish themselves in a foreign country as it is with those of other nations. An Italian, German or Spaniard establishes himself in France, and being naturalized, his family become French, and after two generations they know no

other origin. An English merchant establishes a commercial house in a foreign country, makes a fortune there, and when he arrives at a certain age, he carries back the fortune to his native land. A son or nephew succeeds him, and they do the same for ten generations. Woe to the country ! woe to the city ! which permits English mercantile houses to be introduced into it. The commercial ruin and impoverishment of that country will always be the price of the hospitality shewn them.

CHAP. LII.

Designs of England upon the Mediterranean—True motives which induced her to obtain possession of Malta.

BESIDES the necessity of forming a colony to protect the Hanseatic free cities of the Mediterranean and Adriatic seas, besides the necessity of securing to herself alone the commerce of that part of the world as well as of every other ; England, in obtaining Malta, has also entertained the infernal project of preventing in that quarter the cultivation of provisions which she destines to be planted elsewhere. The friend of humanity, (for she assumes this pompous title,) she is unwilling that the Greeks who have long bowed beneath the Turkish rod, that that classical ground which has given birth to so many illustrious men, whose names are not mentioned without respect, and which recalls so many ennobling recollections ; she is unwilling that Greece should be delivered from the abject state into which it has fallen.

She does not wish Egypt to behold the ancient fertility of the banks of the Nile restored, her population increased, and especially that this unhappy people should be freed from the tortures of the Mamelukes. Sordid

mercantile calculations, to which every thing is subjected by this Queen of the world, (for thus again she styles herself,) are opposed to the accomplishment of a deed, whose beneficial consequences to the happiness of the human race, and the enjoyment of the great European family, would perhaps be incalculable.

There is no doubt that Egypt, if there were a demand for it, would produce in abundance sugar, coffee, indigo, cotton, &c. that her population, delivered from the cruelty and caprice of the Mamelukes, and subjected to wholesome laws, would in a few years furnish all sorts of provisions at extremely low prices. It was certainly a very wise and philanthropic conception of the first navigator, who after having gone over that fine country, suggested the idea, and it is a great misfortune to mankind that we have tried it without success, since our enemy has not had the generosity to resume the plan.* The reason why it has not been done is, that Egypt being in the neighbourhood of the different powers of Europe, with whom it would be almost impossible to prevent all communication, would not have permitted England to preserve the exclusive monopoly of her commodities, as she can do in India, where she one day promises herself that no other vessels than her own will resort. The fear of seeing a shorter and easier road again opened from Egypt to India by means of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, and that we might not penetrate there by this road, was only the pretext, which induced them to follow us into Egypt.

One of my friends, formerly commanding the islands of Zante and Cephalonia, has assured me that the inhabi-

* It is a certain fact, and may easily be proved, that Magellan, consul general of the republic in Egypt, in consequence of a great number of memoirs which he had sent, all relating to an attempt upon Egypt, before M. Talleyrand became minister, obtained leave of absence that he might return to France. It was not, it could not be for any other purpose than to give information in support of his memoirs.

tants of those islands and of many others in the Archipelago, after they were delivered up to France, had begun to plant coffee, which succeeded to a charm, but that it was the first care of the English, since they occupied those isles, to seize the coffee, destroy the cotton, and permit no other cultivation than that of liquorice, whose profits are so inconsiderable that they do not enable the proprietor to procure even the necessaries of life. It belongs to the powers bordering on the Mediterranean, it belongs to that power whose vast projects are tending to the opening of the Dardanelles, to take under their immediate protection a people whose religion is similar to their own ; it belongs to the Emperor of Russia, I say, to finish an undertaking which we have only known how to delineate.

CHAP. LIII.

Designs of England upon the Antilles—India destined to furnish the Productions of those Islands.

THE Antilles must never rise again, they must be destroyed. England has anathematized them, and that power is now sufficiently strong to carry such a design into execution. It is from the rich and extensive countries of Hindostan, a region capable of producing in the greatest abundance all the articles of luxury, whose plants and seeds the Europeans have sought after in Asia to carry them to the Antilles, it is from Hindostan that Europe will in a few years obtain the sugars and coffee necessary for their consumption at a cheaper rate than the Antilles can afford them at. India can furnish them at almost as low a price as the most common vegetables of our gardens, because the price of manual labour

is trifling, absolutely nothing compared with that of Europe, and the Antilles ; especially where the planter must cover the expense of the land, of the buildings for working, the price of the slaves purchased, and the chances of sickness and mortality, which do not enter into the calculation of the planter who employs free hands, in a country where the first cost of the land and buildings is almost nothing.

The time is not far distant when this new order of things will be established. We are soon to see commerce take a new direction, which will only permit Europe to receive the productions of India, through English hands, and by the way of England ; it is she who will fix their value, price of transportation, and the monopoly at pleasure. There is only need of the necessary time for the culture in India, as the English have planned it, to be consolidated and in full operation. Then the Antilles will be destroyed.

The black population of the Antilles, in the infernal designs of England, has already a destination from which the world will not escape. Allied to England, and receiving from her provisions, vessels, and ammunition, this black population who are not destitute of bravery, who are already trained to arms, who hate work, and only submit to it by constraint, this black population will form a chain of pirates, who will infest all the waters of America, and on all sides incessantly oppose the prosperity of that continent. It is thus England meditates and has resolved to be revenged upon the American Union, that revolted daughter, against whom she has sworn implacable hatred.

CHAP. LIV.

*Wretched Condition of India, now become the Source of
Wealth to England.*

BESIDES the wealth which the English must derive from cultivating the soil in India, they have for several years obtained an immense quantity of gold from that country, and in this they have formally contradicted those writers, who, until the beginning of this century, had declared, that not receiving any merchandize in exchange for her commodities, and payment being only made in gold, which did not return, India would finally swallow up all the gold of Europe. This observation which was correct before England acquired dominion over the territory and inhabitants of India, has now ceased to be so.

The English company, in whose name the sovereignty is exercised, levy considerable imposts which are paid in gold. All in their employ, both civil and military, from the governor and directors of the company down to the lowest English corporal, make horrible exactions from the Indians, which they receive in gold, and this gold now flows back to them, to Europe, and to all their factories.

The meanest English clerk who is permitted to open a petty shop to retail salt, after a few years, returns covered with gold, and in allusion to his wealth, is styled by the English people a *Nabob*.*

Every thing is extortion and monopoly in India. The Indians cannot purchase or sell any thing, or trade with

* There was in my neighbourhood at Bishop's Waltham, a justice of the peace, a Mr. Goodlad, whose immense fortune was made in India by a salt shop: it was in speaking of this fortune which they envied, that some Englishmen made me acquainted with every species of extortion to which the poor Indians are subjected.

each other. The produce of their soil is deposited in the English warehouses, and whatever they are to consume or use, whether as eatables or articles for manufacture, are dealt out to them. The same warehouses take their work again, and pay them the price of it. As the price of the purchase, the second sale, and the labour are determined by the conqueror, and as that conqueror is not in the habit of being generous, the wretched Indians, since they passed into the hands of the English, by reason of their extreme misery, are gradually approaching to a most dreadful depopulation, which is the wish of their tyrants, who when they have thought it necessary to accelerate this depopulation, seeing that fire and sword did not sufficiently answer their expectations, have finished by exposing them to all the horrors of famine.

Gold is now the most substantial revenue, and the most certain wealth which England derives from India. Commerce, the directors of the company have observed to the House of Commons, no longer offers any advantage to be compared with it; and they are right.

America, the Levant, almost all the coasts of the Mediterranean can furnish for the manufactures of Europe more cotton than is required for their consumption; and the articles manufactured from that cotton, much more various than those of India, at present excel them in beauty. The muslins, finer and handsomer, are, it is said, less durable, and do not preserve their whiteness so long after washing, but they cost only half as much, and their moderate price entirely prevents any competition from that of India.

Cashmere shawls, pearls and the diamonds of Golconda are the only things which Europe does not furnish, unless it be the first article, whose texture and quality have been imitated so perfectly by our French manufactories.

that connoisseurs can scarcely discover the difference. The art of making the borders of Cashmire shawls is the only thing we want, and until we have found it out, those of India will be preferred ; but this article of a shortlived fashion is of little importance.

Cloves, first planted at Cayenne by M. Poivre, former Intendant of the Isle of France, have multiplied there as well as at Martinique, where they have been carried, and even now there is no need of those of India. It is the same with cinnamon, which has succeeded perfectly in Martinique. There can be no doubt that these two trees would succeed very well on the shores of the Mediterranean. The pepper of Java, notwithstanding all the pains which the Dutch have taken to prevent its being transplanted, succeeds equally well, it is said, in the Antilles. Thus then it is true, as the Directors of the company observed, that India has no longer any thing to offer to the commerce of Europe, which can tempt adventurers to undertake the voyage.

And it is precisely because the Directors see that the former profits on India merchandize cannot be again realized, that they wish to obtain them from productions of another description, by transplanting thither sugar, coffee, and indigo, that, by the profit on these productions, the Indians may continue to pay the enormous tributes which have been imposed upon them ; otherwise it would soon be with their wretched subjects in that part of the world as it was with the Egyptians and Greeks under the Turkish dominion, weighed down under the yoke of their tyrants, and discouraged by vexations of all kinds, to tear from them even their last pagoda, or their last grain of gold-dust. Once entirely drained, the Indians would refuse to use the least industry, since it would have no other object than to gratify the insatiable cupidity of their masters.

dispensed or drawn away by them; let an unequal maritime war, (since no power in Europe has such a navy as the English) be declared, and finished in a short time; let a native king of Poland be raised by that noble nation to their ancient throne, now half built up again; in fine, let Sweden, urged on for the purpose of reconquering Finland; let Denmark, restrained by the expectation of indemnity, become the allies of England, and Russia, harassed by all these events which will burst upon her at once, will again change the seat of government to Moscow; England in that case will again have the glory of being called the liberator of Europe, the founder of free cities, wrested from the tyranny of kings.

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CHAP. LII.

Designs of England upon the Mediterranean—True motives which induced her to obtain possession of Malta.

BESIDES the necessity of forming a colony to protect the Hanseatic free cities of the Mediterranean and Adriatic seas, besides the necessity of securing to herself alone the commerce of that part of the world as well as of every other ; England, in obtaining Malta, has also entertained the infernal project of preventing in that quarter the cultivation of provisions which she destines to be planted elsewhere. The friend of humanity, (for she assumes this pompous title,) she is unwilling that the Greeks who have long bowed beneath the Turkish rod, that that classical ground which has given birth to so many illustrious men, whose names are not mentioned without respect, and which recalls so many ennobling recollections ; she is unwilling that Greece should be delivered from the abject state into which it has fallen.

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cause, being useful to the English, they have thought it a duty to protect it; I mean that of the vines of the *Douro*, whose wines are known by the name of Port Wines. Still, in protecting the cultivation of these vines, the English commercial genius has done it in such a manner as to hold the Portuguese cultivation in a state of dependence, between misery and hope, so that all the profits are made by the English merchants.

English commissioners, established at Oporto, by virtue of a convention or charter entered into about fifty years ago, are to receive at a fixed price a certain quantity of wine, which quantity appears to have exceeded what Portugal then produced, deducting for their own consumption. According to that convention the Portuguese are strictly forbidden to dispose of a single pipe of wine to any other nation, or to ship in their own more than the necessary quantity for the crew during the intended voyage.

The vintage being liable to plenty or scarcity, the proprietors, to enable themselves in that case to fulfil exactly the bargain which they considered advantageous, have planted vines, whose produce has finally far exceeded the quantity agreed upon.

The first years the commissioners charged themselves with the surplus at the same rate, not only that the old cultivators might not be discouraged but that the new might be induced to follow their example; and finally, when they found the produce was almost double the quantity agreed for, they then appealed to the agreement, declaring that they should confine themselves in future to that quantity, and if they received the rest it should only be at a reduced price, without even permitting the Portuguese, if they did not agree to the price, to dispose of the quantity remaining in their hands in any other manner than for internal consumption.

The commissioners had made considerable advances to the planters; it therefore became necessary for them to cancel the bargain by paying the sums advanced, or come to the determination of pulling up a part of the vines they had planted. The first was impossible, for want of money. The Marquis De Pomballes, then minister, wished to adopt the second, but, as it would totally ruin a large number of families, and throw out of employ a part of the population employed in this sort of cultivation, and whom it would have been difficult to engage in any thing else, he was obliged to give up the idea. Since that time the wines of half the proprietors are annually marked to be taken, but in order to preserve as much as possible the appearance of justice in this work of iniquity, they do it alternately, so that the proprietor who delivers his wines to the commissioners one year, does not the next.

The wines of the latter are no less taken by the commissioners than those of the former, but it is done later, and at a price which sometimes does not exceed one third of that given in pursuance of the convention, which reduces the aggregate of the whole, far below the rate originally agreed upon.

By this management, the English, who alone sell the Port wines at very high prices in every market, have succeeded in holding the proprietors and cultivators in such a state of absolute misery, that except in the city of Oporto, the inhabitants on the banks of the Douro, a little more numerous than in some other provinces, have never appeared to me to have even a comfortable subsistence.

In fine, I ought not to omit mentioning that even the staves which are used in making the casks are brought by the English, who, not content with the profit which they make on the importation and sale of these staves,

cause the casks to be made on account of the commissioners, and sold again to the proprietors, by deducting from the amount of the wine which they are to receive from them, and as the price of these casks is fixed by the commissioners, the proprietors, in those years when their wines are not marked, are sometimes indebted after they are delivered, for a balance of the price of the casks which have been furnished them.

If Portugal had continued mistress of her own commerce, instead of throwing herself into the power of a perfidious ally, who has taken every thing from her, and who, taking advantage of her misfortunes, has procured the cession of Madeira to appropriate the wines to herself, there is no doubt she would not be reduced to the state of abjection and poverty in which we find her. I should add too, for truth's sake, that the Portuguese have appeared to me to be a brave, industrious, patient, and labour loving people; that they have only wanted a government which kept pace a little better with the improved state of the age, to develop all the excellent qualities of that nation; and an ally less rapacious than England, to whom, moreover, all the enlightened Portuguese render ample justice, and whom they hate not less cordially than every Frenchman should from this time forth forever.

CHAP. LVI.

English Travellers.

THE English of all ranks and conditions are great travellers. Journeys to them are even an important object of speculation. The lord, the lawyer, the physician, the merchant, the manufacturer, and the rich

farmer, travel, and the first profit they reap from it is generally from the sale of a printed account of what they have seen, with which they never fail to gratify the public on their return to England. The second advantage is the acquisition either in the senate, or in their profession, of a greater share of celebrity, and consequently the more prompt and certain attainment of a fortune; for in every situation the first object of an Englishman's pursuit is a fortune. In fine, one object which they never lose sight of in their travels is to draw forth from the learned of various countries, (to whom they are always furnished with recommendations, and whom they take great care to flatter,) discoveries which they lay up that they may apply them to their own arts. These discoveries are then commonly carried back to France, thinly disguised, and are received there as the productions of English genius, a method which even to this day has not a little contributed to the reputation of British manufactures.

The more absurd stories, falsehoods, and calumnies against the countries travelled over, and the people visited; he relates in his printed travels, the more popular the author becomes. Thousands of Englishmen have passed through France in every direction; have resided there whole years, have received daily invitations from the inhabitants of the places through which they have passed, have been intimate in some of the most respectable families, in which they have been able to observe enough to enable them to do justice to the manners, urbanity and ease of those families, and yet these same families are slandered by these men on their return to England. If they have not written their travels themselves, they have had the dishonesty to read and circulate, and support with their evidence the relations of their countrymen, in which it is seriously asserted that all the

French women have no sort of decency nor virtue ; that in this country husbands and fathers publicly prostitute their wives and daughters to strangers, who sometimes are obliged to turn from them with disgust. They have the insolence to assert that the dirtiness of Frenchmen and their wives, in their dress, as well as in every thing else, presents a hideous spectacle, and to such a degree that it is impossible to enter their houses or sit down at their tables, without being repulsed as much by the insipid smell of the dishes and the filthiness of the masters who offer them, as by that of the servants who attend. They are seen positively to declare, that the conversation of persons who pretend to be well educated, and good company, is always full of gross or indelicate expressions, with which it is impossible for the chaste ears of an English woman not to be wounded, etc. etc.

a Frenchman in that country, indignant at the repetition of so much absurdity and injustice, expostulates with persons whom he or his family have loaded with assiduity and kindness in France, and if he complains of their illiberality, he only receives a satirical sneer, and their only answer is that phrase, which discovers more policy than politeness and candour : "*It serves for John Bull, and increases his love for his country.*"

When the English are studied at home, we are forced to confess that if this slandering of every nation has a political view, and is necessary to compel their people to love their own country exclusively, they have been completely successful ; and Europe, which in this respect has seconded the English with all her might, ought to rest fully satisfied.

In fact, the immense number of works in this sort of general calumnation of the continental nations, which are published in England, and especially the frequent repetition of their most injurious passages in the peri-

odical publications, where every Englishman who has not received an academical education goes through his course of mechanical, philosophical and political instruction, finish by convincing the mass of the nation, who put confidence in these calumnies, that England is the most favoured by nature of any country on the globe; that her people are the greatest, the noblest, the most generous, and assuredly the bravest in the world; that the productions refused them by their soil, so far from being a cause of regret, since their commerce supplies them in abundance, are a source of misery and a curse to the unhealthy climate which produces them; that the temperature of England is the only good one, the only one which gives birth to vigorous and healthy men, while every where else the species is languid, feeble, defective in every respect, and addicted to all sorts of vices. This absurd predilection would nevertheless be excusable, if it did not become the source of prejudices, dangerous to the foreigner whom misfortune or curiosity casts upon the shores of that modern Tauris, as it keeps the people in a state of perpetual hostility to him. It is carried so far that a Frenchman who is even introduced into the most respectable circles is often wearied and insulted with questions which no less expose their ignorance than their impoliteness, and this on the most important as well as on the most trifling subjects.

For instance, on the appearance of a melon, the shapeless product of a hot-house, whose flavour is as insupportable as its smell, they will seriously ask you if melons grow in France; and again, if you ever ate any beef before you came to England. Sour grapes gathered from a vine arbour, which exposure to the south and artificial heat have not been able to ripen, put the whole company in an extacy, and invariably lead to the impertinent question, "Have you any grapes in France?"

The limits of a chapter, however extensive they may be, would only contain a very compact outline of all the silly things of this description, which a Frenchman must every day submit to hear about his country, nonsense, which he would in vain attempt to refute, for it often happens that those who relate the most ridiculous of these stories in his presence, are as well or better acquainted with France than he is himself. But the "*It is necessary for John Bull?*" is the supreme law from which an Englishman cannot swerve without becoming a bad citizen.

CHAP. LVII.

Highways—Public Coaches—Posts—Inns.

ENGLAND is completely intersected with highways in every direction; none are paved, and all are covered with gravel and kept in good order, to which the facility with which the English can transport their heavy articles by water contributes not a little. The want of paving being supplied by a thick layer of bruised flint stones completes the work; for the pavement by reason of the shocks and continual jolting which it causes, injures the wagons and the merchandize, and stuns and splits the hoofs of the horses. The streets of the large cities only are paved.

The activity of commerce requiring great facility of communication, there is no country where public coaches are so numerous, so neat, and more especially so convenient. After travelling in England, one is ashamed of the public coaches of France, and never enters them without repugnance, being struck with the danger against which the French government have never at-

tempted to secure the travellers. In England, the traveller is a man, in France he is only merchandize. At London the citizen travels conveniently, and the baggage is carried separately. At Paris the citizen is subordinate to the cargo of the *diligence*, as the coach is called, and must risk, without a murmur, all the perils to which the avidity of the managers of the post exposes him, by overloading both in weight and bulk that shapeless mass, the commercial *charette*, (a sort of cart with only two wheels,) into which the managers compel him to enter.

Every day, at each hour in the twenty-four, there depart from London for every extremity of the kingdom, in all directions, two hundred public coaches, without including in this number those in the precincts which do not go beyond the little towns and villages surrounding it for the distance of eighteen miles. The same number of coaches arrive at the common centre, the capital, in the same space of time.

The right of keeping public coaches is not sold nor hired out, nor does it belong to any private company. It is any one's right. A tax is laid upon each coach, according to the number of seats it contains, its size, the number of horses which are to be attached to it, and the distance it is to run. This leaves every speculator at liberty to establish as many coaches as he pleases by paying the tax into the treasury. The public certainly derive great advantage from such a disposition, by the multiplication of coaches, their neatness, solidity, activity in service, and by the moderate fare. The competition between the contractors has also this advantage, the public will choose the best, it becomes profitable, and the treasury gains by it. This is good management, for it is with public coaches as with restorators, theatres, and newspapers, the bad are ruined and the good enriched. The state always collects its tax, and the more activity



every where the same conveniences as at home, and he returns with the same facility he went. An Englishman never takes those ridiculous precautions to which the French traveller subjects himself, and which make it appear as though he were going to make the tour of the world.

The horse posts are not the privilege of one individual; the relay is not placed at an established distance. Every innkeeper who keeps a large house, becomes a post-master, by paying annually for the licence, which is calculated according to the number of horses, and coaches he keeps, and he thus brings his inn into notice. The roads are exactly marked with milestones, and the expenses of the post are paid according to the number of miles travelled. Horses and chaises are found at every post, or rather at every inn; the chaises are generally *compés*, having three seats, and without a fore part. Two or three horses conducted by a postillion are attached to them. The travelling expenses of a single person amount to nearly double what they are in France; but to two or three persons, they are reduced, and are even less than half as high as in France, because the price remains the same. Three persons may have two horses and pay no more than one person. A *diligence* with four seats, only pays for four horses, although you may place two servants at the sides of the driver, and a third behind on a seat suspended between the springs.

In any country of Europe, these coaches, horses, and harness would not disgrace the stables and coach houses of the most wealthy; they are driven with rapidity, and the ears are not grated as on the continent by the constant snapping of the postillion's whip, who is filthily clad, and who is continually harassing sorry horses tusked with ropes.

Without possessing the richness and beauty of the hotels of the great cities in Germany, and of the hotel of Dessain at Calais, the inns are much more neat and infinitely better kept than the finest inns in France. The service within doors is performed by servants of both sexes; all are decently clothed, and have the appearance and manners of lackeys, and *femmes de chambre* of great families.

The furniture of the bed chambers is plain, but very neat; every where there is a carpet under foot. That of the dining halls, which serves at the same time for drawing rooms or parlours, is always perfectly neat. The dishes, the glasses, the table linen, do not present that uncouth appearance which is observed in French inns; the linen though white is unsoiled; napkins of fine texture and dazzling whiteness; mahogany tables of the finest polish; and plate, in small quantities, but possessing the same polish it had when it came from the hands of the silversmith. The English generally endeavour to preserve that cleanliness which is observed in every house; they never uselessly or carelessly dirt the room in which they reside, and they are in all respects far superior to us in every thing which concerns the subjects of this chapter.

The great roads are not only kept in order, much in the same manner as M. Turgot, whose services the French have never sufficiently appreciated, caused ours to be kept after the suppression of the *corvée*,* but even the smallest bye roads are not kept with less care; each proprietor, and each farmer repairing at his own expense before his own property, because he perceives, that although he repairs for the use of his neighbour, that neighbour in turn repairs for him, and they both gain more than they expend by preventing their horses from being

* Work or service which a tenant or vassal owed his landlord.

fatigued, and often even maimed by the bad roads, and in the saving of harness, which is less liable to injury.

To obtain these repairs the government has no other means than persuasion, and the good example set by extensive proprietors. Managers who are wise and intelligent, without hauteur, who know how to accommodate themselves to those under their management, to convince them that it is for their own interest, and not solely for the interest of government; or rather to persuade them that these two interests are one and inseparably connected, will effect that sort of desirable improvement.

CHAP. LVIII.

Vegetation—Agriculture.

It is sufficient to pass through only a small part of England to produce a confession that it would be difficult to find any where else a more brisk vegetation in the month of May; no where does the verdure continue so fine for so long a time. Nothing can be compared to the beauty of a bowling-green; the grass being cut, of equal height, and of a deep green, presents to the eye during the nine succeeding months, the appearance of a carpet perfectly smooth; our meadows enamelled with flowers, are in regard to these bowling greens what green serge is to a handsome Turkey carpet. But if that boasted verdure is so very beautiful, where is the country that would wish to procure it at the same price?

A sky constantly lowering, and foggy, and not a fine day in the fine season; it is true they seldom have those storms of rain, which root up and bear away with them the hopes of the farmer, and seldom during winter do they have those piercing colds which are experienced in

much more southern regions ; but hear-frosts which are felt every month in the year, sometimes the four seasons in one summer, eternal fogs more or less dense, a general and constant humidity in the atmosphere, and fine drizzling rains during the whole year, are the causes of the English verdure.

What also is the consequence ? No plant ever arrives at maturity, except vegetables of the root species, potatoes, carrots, turnips and radishes. The other vegetables are eaten green ; they would rot on the stalk rather than keep until they became what we call dry vegetables. The French-beans (haricot) are eaten green and in the pod, and this vegetable rarely arrives to that state of maturity which allows of its being eaten in the seed. Green peas are eaten when three quarters ripe ; if eaten sooner, they are of a bad quality ; if they were served up as we serve up our green peas, they would be destitute of taste or flavour. If left longer in the field, the stalk is rotted by the rain, the seed turns black, and acquires a disagreeable taste. It is the same with the lupin, the lentil, and the horse-bean, (*feve*.)

Meadow grass is cut green ; grains are gathered green ; there are no gilded harvests, every thing dries up after being cut. No plant or grain arrives to perfection, notwithstanding the finest appearances of vegetation. The species must be annually renewed, and seeds obtained from the continent, if they wish to prevent their degenerating. Wheat itself would not escape this, did not the farmers procure seed from the Baltic. Sweden furnishes seed for turnips, Russia seed for hemp, France for hay, luzerne, trefoil, beans, peas, &c. Holland and the Netherlands furnish all the other kitchen plants.

Salads, of whatever kind, are not capable of coming to a head and whitening. All are lank and green ; they produce the stem which is to bear the seed, at an early

day, but they remain barren. They only make use of the small sallads, that kind which is gathered by our gardeners early in the spring, when they wish to clear the beds destined for transplanting.

Ripe fruit gathered in an English garden is never seen on the table of its proprietor. The hot houses only produce a few fruits without smell or taste. *Caraccioli observed that he had never found in England any other ripe fruit than baked apples, and added that the moon of Naples was warmer than the sun of London.* This pleasantry was carried too far, but it is true to a certain degree. Fruit in general, and vegetables especially, have nearly the same taste as those of our gardens in the vicinity of great cities, whose vegetation is forced by manure and the watering pot; they have no taste; even the *fecula* of potatoes is less abundant than in France. The English potatoe furnishes less of that extractive, nourishing and glutinous substance proper for making starch, which our chymists compare to animal jelly, and which they have discovered to be of the same nature.

These are the faults of climate; let us see how industry has tried to remedy them. Agriculture is carried to a degree of perfection which is not equalled by any country in Europe; it has created a class designated by the appellation of *gentlemen farmers*, who seem to have nothing in common with the farmers of other countries, as they approach much nearer to the rich manufacturer and merchant of the city than to the countryman.

The implements of husbandry, ploughs, carts, and sowing machines are much better taken care of, and more convenient; they are finished when they come from the hands of the workman, and are painted, as also are their screws and nuts. These articles are dearer than elsewhere, but their price is compensated by their durability and convenience, and by being better fitted

for their destination, they do more work in less time, and yield a greater profit.

Their stables and barns are firmly built, and kept cleaner than they are in France. The wheels and the harness of the horses have none of that niggardly and miserable appearance which our rural implements present; all the traces are small chains linked close, and held up by wide straps of leather in the form of a back band. The horse is not loaded with a collar which wears off his mane, or binds him, and lacerates his breast. The English collars have the agreeable and light form of those of our chaise horses; being in halves and buckled, they do not render the horse uneasy, nor make him acquire the habit of resisting, if his head and ears have too much sensibility.

The horses of the farmers are not inferior in beauty to coach horses, and they differ from them only in all having manes. Almost all the farmers possess stallions, and the good appearance of these animals, enables them to sell their colts at a price proportioned to their reputation.

England formerly raised more grain than at present, the considerable advance in the price of manual labour not allowing her to afford the grain raised on her own soil at so low a rate as that which she seeks for seed, and which she imports to meet her own consumption. She has changed the nature of her culture, and although the population has increased one third in England since the revolution of 1688, they do not now raise one half the grain which was produced at that time.

The constant humidity of the atmosphere makes a perpetual meadow of the whole country, even of the hills. A great part of the arable lands have been converted into pasture grounds; the daily produce of butter and cheese, and wool, the sale of leathers, and of meat for the

slaughter house, have enriched the farmers, and enabled the people to consume more meat and live in a more substantial manner. The cultivation of meadows when they are made and inclosed is now preferred. The only trouble they require is throwing some manure upon them every year, and the conducting into them or drawing off the irrigations. Besides this, they require but few hands, and most of these hire themselves out at working time. The produce is sure, and the profits uniform ; the expense of digging is less by two thirds than that of a large corn farm ; in fine, this sort of culture hardly requires any buildings.

There are neither wolves nor wild beasts in England. Pleasure horses are kept in stables ; in general, disordered animals only are kept in the barns. Working horses and sheep are put into a close pasture, as are all other kinds of cattle. They stay there the whole year, night and day, and have no need of any guard. Very strong hedges, for the most part of hazel, do not leave any entrance ; the trimmings of these hedges serve to make hurdles for folding the cattle ; the enclosures are very contracted, and distributed in such a manner that only a small portion of the meadow is consumed, and the grass of the rest preserved.

Mere sheds serve for shelter against the storms or heavy rains of winter. If the snow is very deep, they throw hay and turnips into the sheds to nourish the cattle during the winter season.

The hay is never stowed into the barns ; it is heaped in cocks in some corner of the pasture, and there covered with the coarsest part of it. It is preserved in this manner one or two years in succession, and dries less than when in bundles. The French custom of bundling it is a bad one ; it collects more dust, suffers more waste, and is more expensive. When it is to be eaten, the English

farmer cuts it at the hay-cock into squares with a large knife, and I have never seen the horse discover any dislike at eating this hay. The English method is undoubtedly preferable to ours.

The government, to prevent the cultivation of grain from ceasing entirely, has stepped forward to assist the farmer, by laying considerable duties on importations for consumption, that the farmer as they say may be able to bear the competition, and be amply remunerated for his expenses; pay his taxes, and the rent of his farm, make improvements in cultivation, and keep every thing comfortable around him.

This reason is only half the truth. If government did not come to the assistance of the farmer, so that corn might always be kept at a high price, and bread never less than six sous a pound, England would soon cease to produce a single grain. What would then become of the people, if there was a nation sufficiently powerful to blockade them, and cut them off from all communication with the continent. What would become of them now, (could that happy time be presented to Europe,) if the world, what it has not yet had the courage to do, was to be shut against England, or England against the world?

On each farm a small quantity of grain land is cultivated, and it may be said that this culture has no other object than to provide for the cattle. The arable lands are divided as in France, into three parts; one is sowed with wheat, the other, the year following, with oats or barley, and the third is covered with turnips, clover or trefoil. Turnips cut in slices and mixed with hay, are thrown into the pastures, and when the turnip field is despoiled of a great part of its crop, the ground is turned up to uncover the rest, and the sheep are turned into it, and finish eating them, furnishing manure at the same time to that land which knows no repose.

In general, agriculture is much better understood in England than in France; the proprietor or farmer glories more in cultivating well, than in cultivating a great extent of land. The quantity of manure, the manner of using it, and the choice of such as is suitable to the nature of the soil, are the result of constant attention and long experience; every thing there is subordinate to climate and practical knowledge.

The greater part of the landlords let out their lands; almost all the leases are for a long term. The tenants do not hesitate to make experiments, advances, and considerable disbursements; they have time to profit by them, and to reap the benefit themselves.

If our farmers made a better use of their lands, if they improved them during the year they are suffered to repose, they would have a greater number, and they would rear more and better cattle, and the sale of them would afford them great profits. This increase of cattle would furnish more nourishment for man, more manure for the earth, and the latter would become more fertile. Since the revolution our lands have undergone considerable improvement; cultivation has been benefited by the constant residence of the proprietors, and it is probable that with time, the light afforded by our agricultural societies, and the encouragements offered by government, our lands will continue to improve.

One of the principal encouragements, one of the best examples which could be given by the great proprietors who do not cultivate themselves, would be the extension of the leases for a longer term.

CHAP. LIX.

CONCLUSION.

*Brief Sketch of England—Character of the French,
drawn by Dr. Goldsmith.*

THE insular situation of England, and its position at the northwest of Europe, make it subject to frequent fogs, thick mists, and to almost incessant drizzling rains, which generally render a residence there gloomy, and give to its inhabitants a melancholy cast, and a reflecting manner which fit them more than any other people to feel the impulse of the great passions, and incline them to the commission of great crimes.

The colds of winter are longer, but they are much less intense than in certain provinces in France, whose situation is much more southerly than that of England. The rains and mists somehow shorten the duration of the cold; the verdure there is finer and more durable than in any other country, owing to the fresh and moist condition of the soil, but no vegetable nor fruit arrives at maturity; trees of a large kind, such as the oak, elm, and ash, grow finely there, when they are not too much loaded with a sort of thick *lichen* which covers them all; and by its moisture facilitates their growth in a wonderful manner. The wood of these trees when employed in ship building, is not so durable as that of our forests, the growth of a drier soil.

The civil and criminal legislation is an old building of a fantastick and incoherent form, but whose crevices and gaps, which menace it with ruin, are masked, and supported by works of a tolerably correct order, which

has led those who viewed it only at a distance to consider it as a handsome edifice. Wise institutions have been introduced in times of necessity to repair or ameliorate what was defective ; but the old edifice remains, and one moment of danger would be sufficient to crumble it entirely ; and it would be more difficult for them to rebuild than it has been for us, because our basis was more firmly established.

It is the same with the fundamental or constitutional laws ; there is not in England, as there is in America, a constitution, properly so called, although I have myself several times made use of the expression of *The English Constitution*. The Magna Charta, a few statutes or concessions forced at different times from their weak kings, and the bill of rights, form the constitution which has been violated in these latter days in so glaring a manner, that already its most essential parts are almost effaced. Such, for instance, is the royal prerogative, of which the shadow only is left to the King by the two houses, who cause it to be exercised under their control by the ministers, who in their turn prefer this way, because they are sure of being approved, whatever they undertake, since they always act with the consent of the leaders of the two parties in Parliament, and are no longer obliged to have recourse to those parliamentary contests which were inevitable when the King governed, and they executed even his constitutional will.

Such also is the practice of quartering soldiers in barracks, introduced by Mr. Pitt although severely prohibited by the bill of rights, in which this is considered as one of the most infallible means of arriving at absolute despotism, by separating the army from the body of the nation.

The custom of introducing foreign armies was so strictly forbidden by the same bill, that William III. was

obliged to send home the Dutch troops who had assisted him in expelling the Stuarts, and in securing the liberty of England.

Such, in fine, is the practice of removing the militia, introduced under the present ministry at the close of the last war, not only by marching them from one county into another, but even into the Three Kingdoms indiscriminately.

Their morals are much more depraved than I have said or could say, and it has appeared to me, when I have wished to compare them myself with what they must have been when Addison wrote, who even then complained loudly of their laxity, that the demoralized condition into which all classes have fallen, proceeds from the too frequent intercourse between the sexes before they have been prepared for it, as with us, by long and agreeable acquaintance, by that chivalrous spirit, which with us at all times in some measure sanctifies that intercourse, and whose ancient recollection the corrupted court of the Medici, under the last Valois, have not been able to efface. In England the women at the present day live less retired in their houses, and the men live less amongst each other, in taverns and clubs. The state of barbarity from which the latter have not yet emerged, has become by the habitual intercourse between the sexes, a shameless brutality; while the bonds of slavery too hastily loosened by the females, have produced those monstrous manners, which inspire the observer with the deepest disgust.

All the great crimes I have mentioned have been committed in the short space of about six months, and still I have been far enough from citing all of them. The same account might be made up every six months, taking care to observe that the number of crimes is nearly doubled during the six months of winter.

The exterior of religion has less solemnity, but more collectedness and decency than in our churches; a be-

lip, whose only ceremonies are confined to the hearing of a sermon coldly read from the pulpit, to the recitation of prayers, and to the singing, with tolerable harmony, of hymns in the vulgar tongue, leaves less room for inattention than the ceremony and chanting of the Latin church. Unfortunately the phrase, *The people must all have a religion*, which has become a sort of maxim, has so prevailed, that each man thinks himself obliged to hold up the mask for his neighbour, although a complete atheist himself. I have attended in several chapels in the prisons, at the time of the Assizes, and was in the midst of the most abandoned of both sexes that nature could produce ; almost all the audience were wretches, guilty of the most atrocious crimes, and yet I should have thought myself amongst an assembly of saints. Such is the English character ; no other nation could attain to that horrible degree of hypocrisy.

The dress of the men is as I have said, generally more decent, and that of the females more agreeable to the eye. A strict observance of the Sabbath, (drunkenness excepted) gives to the labouring class an air of neatness which ours have not.

The love of wealth is the ruling passion of the English, and to acquire it all methods are lawful in their view. It is this love of wealth which has always dictated their treaties, and formed their alliances, to the misfortune of those nations who have had the weakness to have recourse to such allies, or submit to their mediation.

The debt of government is immense, but the wealth of the nation is in the same proportion. They have in their hands and at their disposal the credit, commerce, and fortunes of all others ; and so long as they are able to continue to promote divisions as they have always done between the continental nations, they will make head against every thing, and will absorb and finally pay the whole. The words *wealth, prosperity and grandeur*, will be no longer applicable, except to England or her

happy subjects. All the great commercial places, all the maritime cities, where it will be possible to introduce a fishing smack, will become English factories, into which the English only will import, or from which they alone will be able to export articles of value, of which they will obtain the monopoly. Her population now employed in the factories, in her army and navy, and in her merchant service, will no longer be called upon to manufacture, they will no more be threatened with want of corn, they will become strong and healthy, as their physicians say. The continent will furnish them with workmen, provided the produce of industry, of whatever kind it may be, if it must pass into other hands, goes through those of the mistress of the world, who will set the price of buying and selling, as she will have done that of imported raw materials, which cannot be raised on the soil where they are manufactured.

Let not our French levity and our carelessness about the great interests of our country lead us to believe that this is any exaggeration. Inquire of wise men, the true friends of our beloved France, the inhabitants of our maritime towns, and it will be ascertained, that the English system of universal dominion is already in operation amongst us. Since the last treaty, not a single French vessel has put to sea without having been visited, although in time of peace, by English ships, and not one of those vessels has been able to export freely from our ports any thing but native productions, such as wines, brandy, oil and grain.

When our greatest writers, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Helvetius, Diderot, Raynal, &c. exhausted themselves in praising the nobleness, dignity and hospitality of the English nation; when our poets and novel writers did not cease to extol the beauty of their women, and their virtue, which had in some measure become proverbial; at that time of flattery, or rather of English enthusiasm, so general in France, Goldsmith wrote in his *Citizen of the*

World; the following letter. It is quoted here because the principles, or rather the sentiments expressed in it are the catechism of the English youth, and because it is exactly of a piece with every thing which has been written in England on France and the French people during the last century. Such quotations are in some manner national declarations, authentic papers, which do not expose a writer to the reproach of exaggeration or partiality.

The bad taste and the injustice which such a fragment discovers, have not appeared to me sufficient reasons for withholding it from the attentive view of men of observation. It is an Englishman who speaks, and it is from the sentiments of that Englishman, and of all their travellers, who have never failed to write in the same strain, that all their countrymen are accustomed to appreciate and judge of us.

“The first national peculiarity a traveller meets upon entering that kingdom, is an odd sort of staring vivacity in every eye, not excepting even the children; the people, it seems, have got into their heads, that they have more wit than others, and so stare in order to look smart.

“I know not how it happens, but there appears a sickly delicacy in the faces of their finest women. This may have introduced the use of paint, and paint produces wrinkles, so that a fine lady shall look like a hag, at twenty-three. But as in some measure they never appear young, so it may be equally asserted that they actually think themselves never old; a gentle miss shall prepare for new conquests at sixty, shall hobble a rigadeon when she can scarcely walk without a crutch, and affect the girl, play with her fan and her eyes, and talk of sentiments, bleeding hearts, and expiring for love, when actually dying with old age. Like a departing

philosopher, she attempts to make her last moments the most brilliant of her life.*

" Their civility to strangers is what they are chiefly proud of, and to confess sincerely, their beggars are the very politest beggars I ever knew ; in other places a traveller is addressed with a piteous whine, or a stumpy solemnity ; but a French beggar shall ask your charity with a very genteel bow, and thank you for it with a smile and shrug.

" Another instance of this people's breeding I must not forget. An Englishman would not speak his native language in a company of foreigners where he was sure that none understood him ; a travelling Hottentot himself would be silent, if acquainted only with the language of his country ; but a Frenchman shall talk to you whether you understand his language or not, never troubling his head whether you have learned French, still he keeps up the conversation, fixes his eyes full in your face, and asks a thousand questions which he answers himself for want of a more satisfactory reply.

" But their civility to strangers is not half so great as their admiration of themselves. Every thing that belongs to them and their nation is great ; magnificent beyond expression ; quite romantic ! every garden is a paradise,

* Lady Montague, whose letters have had in England as much reputation as those of Madame de Sevigné in France, and which really afford much more interest, as they contain a relation of her travels, wrote, about forty years before Goldsmith, that our females were insupportable on account of their sluttishness, and the disgrace of their sex on account of their bad morals ; that their heads frizzled and powdered, and their faces covered with patches and plasters of rouge, present the appearance of Berry sheep, or of a perpetual masquerade.

Lady Montague, it is true, had to revenge herself for the pleasantry a little too severe, even if it had been true, of one of our countrymen who had resided at the same time with her at Constantinople, and who maintained that her ladyship's description of the seraglio, ought to be so much the more exact, since after submitting to all the ceremonies of introduction by the eunuchs, the Grand Seigneur, had granted her all the honours of it, and his pardon for having dared to repose on the same cushion with his Highness, without being a *houri*.

every hovel a palace, and every woman an angel. They shut their eyes close, throw their mouths wide open, and cry out in a rapture; *Sacre! what beauty! O ciel! what taste! Mort de ma vie! what grandeur!* was ever any people like ourselves! we are the nation of men, and all the rest no better than two legged barbarians.

"I fancy the French would make the best cooks in the world, if they only had meat; but, as it is, they can dress you out five different dishes from a nettle top, seven from a dock leaf, and twice as many from a frog's haunches. These eat prettily enough when one is a little used to them; are easy of digestion, and seldom overload the stomach with crudities. They seldom dine without seven hot dishes; it is true, indeed, with all this magnificence, they seldom spread a cloth before the guest; but in that I cannot be angry with them, since those who have got no linen upon their backs, may very well be excused for wanting it upon their tables.

"Even religion itself loses its solemnity among them. Upon their roads, at about every five miles distance, you see an image of the Virgin Mary, dressed up in grim head cloths, painted cheeks and an old red petticoat; before her a lamp is often seen burning, at which, with the saint's permission, I have frequently lighted my pipe. Instead of the virgin, you are sometimes presented with a crucifix, at other times with a wooden saviour, fitted out in complete garniture, with sponge, spear, nails, pincers, hammer, bees-wax and a vinegar-bottle. Some of these images, I have been told, came down from heaven; if so, they have in heaven but bungling workmen.

"In passing through their towns, you frequently see the men sitting at the doors, knitting stockings, while the care of cultivating the ground and pruning the vines falls to the women. This is perhaps the reason why the fair sex are granted some peculiar privileges in this country, particularly, when they can get horses, of riding without a saddle."

According to this paragraph, one would perhaps be led to believe that in England the men are only occupied in manly employments, and yet one of the greatest reproaches of their writers is, that their male population becomes every day more enervated on account of the prodigious number of men employed in their manufactures, in works which should only be performed by women.

It is but a short time since any females dared to show themselves in the shops of London. The foreigner without surprise and even disgust could not see large boys, who would figure much better behind a plough or in a company of grenadiers than in a milliner's shop, unrolling ribbons, crimpling gauzes, and handling hats of flowers. In France, before the revolution, the Misses Bertin and Reginault, the Mesdames Beaulard, &c. were the most celebrated of our Parisian milliners. Their husbands had no concern in the business, except in making wholesale purchases, and in keeping the account books. It is to introduce the English fashion, that the famous Monsieur Leroy, Rue de Richelieu, has opened a milliner's shop; but it is well known how they speak in our circles of that oracle of good taste who belongs to neither sex.

The astonishment and insipid pleasantries of Sterne on the easy politeness of the female Paris perfumer, and the pretended courtesy of her husband, who kept himself in the back part of the shop, prove two things; first, that it is not customary for females to keep shops of perfumery in London, while in Paris and throughout France these shops are only kept by them; and secondly, that people as polite as the Paris shopkeepers are rarely met with in England.

Besides, it must be confessed that many shops in France in which formerly women only were seen, are now kept by men; and for this disgusting innovation we are indebted to our fatal Anglomania.



